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Baltic Representatives Meet on Russian Army Pullout

LD1906155093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] The withdrawal of the army from the Baltic countries must not be linked to human rights violations, the leaders of the Baltic countries' parliamentary delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe announced at a news conference. As BNS has already reported, today there was a gathering in Riga of the delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, whose participants discussed the current situation in the Baltic countries and joint strategy and activity in reponse to statements by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on the issue of the army withdrawal.

This gathering was arranged prior to the part of the scheduled 44th session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe which is to take place from 28 June to 2 July in Strasbourg. As the leader of the Lithuanian delegation, Algirdas Gricius, emphasized, the Russian troops will be withdrawn from Lithuania by the end of this August; however, Lithuania will not be able to be safe while Russian troops are in Latvia and Estonia. The delegations expressed a joint standpoint on the necessity to undertake further cooperation measures at the level of the Baltic countries' parliaments and governments.

A Baltic Assembly will be formed in the future, which could become an effective median stage for future cooperation with the Nordic Council. The delegations acknowledged the need to coordinate the Baltic countries' demands in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, at the gathering of the Political Relations Committee, which is to take place in Copenhagen at the end of this July.

Taking part in it will be delegations from the Baltic countries as well as Russia, in order to settle the issue of the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic countries. The leaders of the Lithuanian and Estonian delegations congratulated the Latvian delegation on the successful conduct of the fifth Supreme Council elections, and expressed the home that in the near future Latvia will be accepted into the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Jun

LD2306053993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0500 GMT 23 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Today's Russian newspapers highlight confrontation between coal miners and the government which, the newspaper TRUD points out, "is failing to implement the sectoral tariff agreement and does not assign funds for the maintenance of the coal-producing sector".

TRUD writes that "the Russian Government building has been picketed for the third day by coal miners from Rostov region and the Kuznetsk coal basin. Coal miners from three coal production amalgamations of the Urals will join them today."

The coal miners returned to the pickets upon setting out their demands in a two-hour conversation with vice premiers Boris Fedorov and Oleg Soskovets. "The miners did not believe the vice premiers' assurances, since such promises were made previously as well and remained unfulfilled," TRUD emphasises.

The government newspaper ROSSIISKIYE VESTI carries a Russian president decree "on measures to stabilise the situation in the coal industry" which envisages the introduction of free prices for coal.

Commenting on the decree, ROSSIISKIYE VESTI emphasises: "Rostov coal miners are undoubtedly right in their belief that a state programme is needed to take the coal industry out of the crisis. At the same time it is perfectly evident that the sanitation of the coal industry and a civilised bankruptcy of coal mines are economic necessities and that the two sides must get ready for that".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA believes that a transition to free prices must be gradual. If coal prices are let loose, they will rise 6.8-fold, which is certain to bring about sweeping price increases in the national economy," Yuriy Malyshev, director of the state-run Rosugol coal producing enterprise, told the newspaper. He is of the opinion that subsidies to the coal producing industry should be maintained because free prices would not cover all the expenses.

The press continues to give prominence to the situation in Azerbaijan which "continues to experience a crisis of power". "Rebel Colonel" Surat Guseynov, whose military units are on the approaches to Baku, the capital of the republic, told a press conference that he assumes absolute power in the republic, TRUD reports.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) points out the danger of an outbreak of civil war in Azerbaijan. Commenting on the development of events, the newspaper draws the following conclusion: "Such is the political reality in the country which really balances on the brink of a civil war". Only well-considered actions and prudence can lead to national concord in the republic, the Russian Defence Ministry newspaper concludes.

ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA adheres to a similar view. It believes that the political crisis in Azerbaijan is fraught with any outcome. The newspaper points out that the Colonel Guseynov "factor" will be "not of the least importance in the Karabakh policy" of the authorities of Azerbaijan and will influence the development of the Azerbaijani- Armenian conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

PRAVDA, referring to the Omega-polis private-owned Sevastopol-based radio station, reports that a commitee of navy men in defence of the fleet unity has been set up in the Black Sea fleet". [no opening quotation mark as received] The newspaper runs the committee's address to the fleet personnel.

The navy men stated that, by politicians' decision the Black Sea fleet is doomed to ruin (they mean the agreement between the president of Ukraine and Russia—note by ITAR-TASS). The committee urged officers who keep loyal to the oath "to prevent the fleet's disgraceful giving-in and to boycott the agreement", the newspaper writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA again returns to the notorious case concerning corruption among the command of the Western Group of Troops (WGT). The WGT command was accused of corruption by Vice-President aleksandr Rutskoy in a report at a Russian parliament session. The control department of the administration of the president of the Russian Federation is probing the facts given by the vice president, but none of the accusations have found confirmation so far, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA emphasises.

Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, in an article contributed to ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA, reflects on how and why the Russian state has found itself on the verge on a socio-economic ruin. He writes: "The country has really changed, and people have the right to openly ask to call to account those leaders who, within such a short period, have managed to inflict such a damage on the country which is incomparable even with war ravages. The country, its history, culture, and moral principles are being irresponsibly and adventuristically wrecked in many respects".

Intelligence Service Refuses Comment on Primakov's U.S. Visit

MK2206101093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 3

[Vladimir Savvin report: "Russian Intelligence Service Chief Visits U.S. Secret Service Chiefs Behind Closed Doors"]

[Excerpts] Late on 18 June, Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS], returned to Moscow after his U.S. visit, which went on the past week (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported the beginning of the visit in the 17 June issue). The trip's characteristic feature was that against the backdrop of Primakov's recent visits to European capitals, which were covered fairly extensively, its results were effectively closed to outside observers. [passage omitted]

Official spokesmen for the FIS in Moscow flatly declined to go into any details of the talks when asked by your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent to do so, citing the two sides' mutual agreement not to reveal them.

In KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts' view, such secrecy may have been prompted by the rigid demands of the U.S. side. To all appearances, the administration of Bill Clinton, who began his presidency not in the best possible way, according to American criteria, and who has already drawn numerous reproaches from various politically important interest groups, is beginning to fear that his potential opponents may accuse him of too close contacts with the United States' former main enemy, whose political future has not yet cleared up. This presumption looks especially plausible because the idea of reforming the U.S. intelligence community announced by Clinton and Woolsey, which calls for shifting the main emphasis in its operations in order to concentrate on fighting economic espionage and countering new threats from "third" countries, has so far evoked a mixed reaction from the Congress and independent experts, on one hand, and top officials of the intelligence services, on the other.

U.S. Actions Make UN Peacekeepers Target for Partisans

PM2206112193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Commentary by Deputy Chief Editor Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Who Needs Russian 'Blue Berets' in Bosnia"]

[Text] During the recent Luxembourg session of EC foreign ministers U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged Moscow to send soldiers from the UN armed forces to disengage the warring sides in Bosnia. Western mass media have reported that Vitaliy Churkin, deputy foreign minister and the Russian president's special envoy, declared in reply to that: Russia might send its military subunits to that region, although the Russian leadership is not yet ready to make public the details of this plan. It has been learned from the same sources that it is a question of 2,000 Russian paratroopers.

The question is not as simple as it might first appear. The euphoria resulting from last year's invitation to the first Russian battalion to go to the former Yugoslavia is already passing. It is becoming clear that such proposals are no particular cause for joy. For, on the contrary, other countries are starting to sharply curtail their participation in UN military operations. Or else they are seeking to reduce it to technical facilities, like the United States and France. For some reason only developing countries are widely providing manpower.

The Russian leadership is also vacillating. In May alone the position of our country's foreign policy department in this regard—whether or not to send Russian soldiers to Bosnia—changed at least twice.

Where does the problem lie here? It seems that the answer to this question has been provided by the incidents with UN troops in Cambodia, Somalia, and other parts of the planet: "Blue helmets" are dying increasingly frequently as the result of attacks on them by local armed formations.

The events of 5 June in Mogadishu, the Somali capital, were a fact which literally shook the world public. On that day the gunmen of a grouping commanded by General Mohamed Farah Aidid lured a UN subunit into a trap and killed 23 Pakistani soldiers in cold blood during a distribution of humanitarian aid to the local population.

One week later the Pakistanis' nerves could hold out no longer: They opened fire on a demonstration by the capital's residents, killing 20 people and injuring 50.

After this the U.S. Air Force carried out three rocket and bomb strikes in virtual succession against Aidid's bases and headquarters....

But it is not a question of whether or not this Somali "warlord" is guilty of the bloody slaughter in Mogadishu. (This probably is the case.) The thing is that something that was only to be expected is starting to happen to the UN troops, since the Americans (starting with the war in the Persian Gulf) began turning them into a tool for "settling scores" with political forces throughout the world which are not to Washington's liking, virtually endowing them with gendarme functions.

In whatever verbal peacemaking garb these intentions might be packaged, they essentially amount to the fact that operations under UN auspices are perceived by local political forces as attempts to impose Western models of behavior on peoples of the Third World. In fact, it is necessary to speak of military actions between UN armed forces and partisan detachments of third

countries. It is natural that the latter perceive the former as forces of occupation, with all the ensuing consequences.

The consequences are such that not once in the 20th century have foreign regular troops yet been able to win victory over partisans operating in their own environment. It is sufficient to recall the German fascist troops on the territory of the USSR or Yugoslavia, the U.S. troops in Vietnam, the Soviet troops in Afghanistan, or the Vietnamese troops in Cambodia.

Today UN units are incurring losses not only in Somalia. The Khmer Rouge killed several UN soldiers in Cambodia almost the same days. Croatian armed formations in Bosnia shot in cold blood the drivers of trucks delivering humanitarian assistance and then opened fire on subunits of "blue helmets."

To all appearances, it is possible to state that a shock passed through Third World countries as a result of the operations of UN (read: U.S.) troops in the war in the Persian Gulf. Now UN forces in hot spots everywhere will encounter armed resistance. And incur losses.

In this light the Russian public must be concerned at our foreign policy department's tractability to pressure from the Clinton administration with regard to sending Russian paratroopers to Bosnia.

If they are sent to Bosnia, our guys could become simply cannon fodder. We know that several Ukrainian paratroopers from a battalion of UN troops have already died in Yugoslavia. God knows, a similar fate could befall ours too.

P.S. Western mass media have reported that Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev announced in Vienna that Russia will send additional troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina if their safety is guaranteed.

It is permissible to ask: Who is to guarantee it? The U.S. Air Force? Or the gunmen of Croatian and Muslim armed formations?

U.S. Donates Portable Radioactivity Detectors

PM2306093193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report: "U.S. 'Violinists' in Russia"]

[Text] According to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, on 15 June the United States supplied Russia with 23 sets of "Violinist-3" high-precision equipment, along with 50 callibrators, to detect radioactivity. The equipment, costing $15 million, has been donated to our country free of charge and is designed to determine and eliminate possible accidents and mishaps during the dismantling and destruction of nuclear munitions.

"Violinist-3" is a portable instrument that measures the level of plutonium and americium soil contamination. Previously such analyses of soil samples were only carried out under laboratory conditions.

Radio Urges Extending Nuclear Test Moratorium

LD2206200593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Will all nuclear testing stop? Here's an opinion from Yuriy Solton:

This would seem to be the time to ban all nuclear tests. The threat of a nuclear conflict is practically nonexistent; the race for nuclear weapons has ended; Russia and the United States are making deep cuts in their nuclear arsenals; and France and Britain have limited the production of nuclear weapons.

To resume tests at such a time would be absurd, dangerously absurd. So far the five members of the nuclear club are refraining from testing. But will this be for long? Much will depend on what the administration in Washington decides before 1 July, when America's nine-month moratorium on nuclear tests expires.

Judging by reports from Washington, President Clinton is under strong pressure from the Pentagon and nuclear laboratories, which are suggesting various limited programs to break the resistance of the many members of Congress who want the moratorium extended.

Under one program, nine tests would be staged at the Nevada site before 1996—six to verify the reliability of American weapons, and three to modify British weapons. It is also suggested to reach an agreement to lower the power of underground nuclear explosions to one kiloton.

Any country that on any pretext resumes nuclear testing will be assuming grave responsibility for a dangerous chain reaction.

Russia has not staged nuclear explosions for the past two and a half years, but it could well reconsider its position. More than that, as THE NEW YORK TIMES has pointed out, resumption of nuclear tests in the present climate could only set a bad example for potential members of the nuclear club. Such a move would also make it difficult to extend the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, expiring the year after next.

Every nuclear power declares its ultimate goal is a ban on all nuclear explosions, but this is seen as something in the long term. Yet all conditions to bring this closer to the present are already at hand. An important move in this direction would be for all the nuclear powers to extend the moratorium.

Further Assesments of Yeltsin-Kravchuk 16 Jun Meeting

Ukrainian Ambassador Comments

OW2306104093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Ukrainian ambassador to Russia Volodymyr Krzhanovskiy by Maksim Nikulin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] Undoubtedly, yesterday's main event was the meeting in Moscow between the two presidents—Yeltsin, of Russia, and Kravchuck, of Ukraine. I think you may be familiar with the communique on the results of the meeting published in the mass media. However, to delve somewhat deeper into this problem and to determine the results for ourselves, we asked Volodymyr Petrovich Krzhanovskiy, the Ukrainian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia, to come in and be our guest in the studio this morning. Volodymyr Petrovich, the floor is yours—what, in your view, are the results of the meeting just held?

[Krzhanovskiy] Forget for a moment that I am the ambassador and let me tell you as a human being that I have a great feeling of relief. I can tell you that whenever our presidents meet, I know that somehow—and they do it so well—they will be able to remove the accumulated tensions. When they meet, I do not know how they do it, they just reduce the tension. I always think: What if something does not turn out? What if something goes wrong? However, once again I see that they are the masters of compromise; masters of what politicians do. And, you know, the main thing is that one feels that nothing can follow them; they are the presidents, they are the ultimate people, the final instance. After them there is only God. However, I think that God does not concern himself with such trivialities as relations between the Ukraine and Russia. The presidents removed the tensions, and I saw the expressions on the faces of Leonid Makarovich [Kravchuk] and our premier. I sensed that the basic things were accomplished, that the presidents had removed what had to be removed and only the details had to be filled in.

Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin will be in Kiev next week and will also sign a number of very important documents which are essentially ready in draft form and have been discussed in principle, but require some minor details. Like the Americans, we, and you, have learned to reach agreement despite the nonsense being spread about that the Ukraine and Russia cannot reach agreement. We can do it, and it is not the first time that the presidents have demonstrated that they, and only they, are able to do it. That is perhaps why they are presidents. The people have entrusted them because they have this ability.

[Nikulin] Volodymyr Petrovich, you said that tensions have been removed—from your point of view as the ambassador, were tensions in fact so high that the majority felt such huge relief?

[Krzhanovskiy] Of course. The things that happened in Crimea, the Donbas, and everything else made things extremely complicated. The situation was similar to that which existed just before the referendum—also very complicated. You might recall how it all came about in Minsk when our president said what many did not expect. They all thought that Kravchuk would say something innocuous because of the situation between the Ukraine and Russia. But no, he clearly and decisively said: "Yes, the Ukraine fully supports President Yeltsin and hopes for his success in the referendum." Your president is doing the same now by supporting the Ukraine. And Leonid Makarovich was even asked at the airport: Did you not get the feeling that the Russian president wanted to take advantage of the complicated situation in the Ukraine? He said: "That is absurd; I felt that his conduct was presidential and not that of a poker player intent on beating his competitor. No, I felt his conduct to be that of a president of a friendly state."

[Nikulin] Well, let us hope so, Volodymyr Petrovich. And the last question: Can this tension between our presidents arise again and begin accumulating because nothing is being done to solve these problems?

[Krzhanovskiy] You know, the Ukraine and Russia are both at such a stage at present that we cannot go back to sleep following the presidential efforts. No, we can no longer do that. We have an extraordinary economic situation and we should have a staff working to resolve and remove these impasses. You too have quite a complicated situation, and I have to tell you honestly that it should not be like this because, as you will recall what Panfilov's [a reference to General Panfilov's defense of Moscow in World War II] troops said: "Moscow is behind us!" We are the same. Kiev is behind us and there is nothing else. We cannot retreat anymore. We must make reforms.

[Nikulin] Thank you for coming Volodymyr Petrovich. I introduce our guest once more, Volodymyr Petrovich Krzhanovskiy, Ukrainian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Russia. From your lips to God's ears. Thank you.

[Krzhanovskiy] Thank you.

Outcome of Talks Lauded

PM2206125993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Vladimir Nadein article: "Yeltsin and Kravchuk Derive Strength From Each Other"]

[Text] By exchanging a triple kiss before the eyes of the general public, the presidents of Russia and Ukraine showed that kisses between men can be more than simply a meaningless old communist rite, but also a sign of sincere satisfaction with difficult work jointly done.

The Zavidovo kisses most likely would not have happened, however, if both Yeltsin and Kravchuk had not been in the grip of very harsh circumstances.

The Drug of Bellicosity Grows Weaker

It is said that wars end when love for children becomes stronger than hatred for enemies. I do not rule out the possibility that the long-awaited accord between the two presidents was found because, in tackling intractable state problems, the grandfather presidents began thinking less about themselves and more about their grandchildren.

The Zavidovo decisions are important. The fleet, borders, oil and gas, dual citizenship.... But the spirit is still more important. Not the spirit of cooperation—let us keep this term for Russian-Mexican or Ukrainian-Iranian relations. The spirit of blood relationship. In Zavidovo, for the first time, the two presidents seem to have resolved matters regardless of the good-for-nothing opposition, proceeding from the premise that both our peoples value their fraternity no less than oil. And, in any case, more than the rapidly rusting Black Sea Fleet.

Only recently the signs of such a spirit were almost indistinguishable.

Just two weeks ago General Grachev said, not without irritation, that the Americans were in too much of a hurry, indulging Kiev for holding on to nuclear weapons. It is possible to wager that not only the "hawks" at the Ministry of Defense thought this. In any case, the "doves" in the high-rise building on Smolenskaya Square did not hurry to issue denials. The day after Zavidovo the Russian Foreign Ministry disseminated a statement calling the U.S. initiative the normal and useful involvement of one of the nuclear powers in the process of turning Ukraine into a nonnuclear power.

There is nothing in particular in the Foreign Ministry statement itself. Gen. Grachev also did not perceive anything anti-Russian in the U.S. involvement. Something else is significant. The Foreign Ministry welcomes measures which will make things better for Ukraine, although Russia wont get anything—good or bad. With this welcome, Russia refutes the old thesis which seemed to be the key to understanding Russian-Ukrainian relations.

This thesis sounded like this: A neighbor's cow has died. A trifle, you might think, but it is pleasant.

It is interesting that the key thesis exists in a literal translation in both fraternal languages.

First Feed, Then Milk

Russia laid claim (almost) to the entire Black Sea Fleet, and Ukraine laid claim (almost) to the entire Black Sea Fleet. The problem seemed insoluble. In Zavidovo they decided quickly and simply: everything 50-50.

Both countries morbidly guard their sovereignty. But what kind of sovereignty is it without customs? Therefore they took sausages away from old women in the village of Mikhaylovskiy, and cigarettes away from smokers.

It is said that the presidents coped with the customs in less than an hour. The countries keep their sovereignty, people keep their sausages.

Or take this question of tremendous severity: before or after? In this sense: Must Moscow give its neighbor guarantees of territorial inviolability before ratification of the START I Treaty by the Ukrainian parliament? Or after, when all the procedures are over and the missiles and their warheads have gone off to Russia?

"Before!" the Ukrainians demanded, fearing a dirty trick on the part of chauvinist Russian deputies in the Supreme Soviet.

"After!" the Russians retaliated, expecting the same thing of intransigent nationalists in the Supreme Council.

There is no half way between "before" and "after." You cannot divide these words in half, like the Black Sea Fleet. Someone had to give way. Yeltsin gave way here. But they also divided up the Sevastopol base. Kravchuk gave way there.

There Will Not Be Enough Kisses for All Problems

The two presidents had long been moving toward the Zavidovo level of trust.

To be fair, it should be pointed out that B. Yeltsin was more frank and persistent than L. Kravchuk in his desire to establish relations of personal friendship with his Ukrainian colleague.

Also, to be fair, however, it should be kept in mind that in this sense the actual political circumstances were more favorable for the Russian.

Boris Nikolayevich's critics on the nationalities question come from the same old "intransigent" [opposition]. They are intransigent on a whole range of problems—from the Pension Fund to the constitution. Even if Yeltsin were a terrifying hawk screaming at the word "Kiev," Khasbulatov and his colleagues would, all the same, not have softened their position with regard to the president.

Things are different for Kravchuk. Among those who call for particular vigilance with regard to perfidious Moscow there are many figures on whom the Ukrainian president relies. Whether willingly or out of necessity is another matter. Although there are no people among Kravchuk's closest associates who turn to the north early in the morning, shout "Ganba!" [Ukrainian for "Shame!"], and only then clean their teeth, all the same anti-Moscow toughness and anti-Kremlin phraseology remain important dough for every Ukrainian politician.

This examination has to be sat every day by President Kravchuk, whose party past, unlike his Russian colleague's, has never been forgotten or forgiven by anyone.

To all appearances, Zavidovo spells the end of such checks. Cruel parliamentary opponents no longer frighten not only Yeltsin, who long ago renounced their sympathies, nor. Kravchuk now. The Russian said recently that parliamentary elections must be held no later than October-November. After two years of faint-hearted reforms and decisive actions by miners, parliamentary elections in Ukraine have gone from the sphere of forecasts and become a political fact.

Observers are already suggesting to the presidents that the radical agreements concluded by them might not survive because of resistance in the parliaments.

But the presidents believe that the agreements will simply outlive these parliaments.

Black Sea Fleet Officers Oppose Decision

LD2306085393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0831 GMTG 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Air Force officers of the Black Sea Fleet opposed the decision of the Russian and Ukrainian presidents to share the former Soviet Navy between the two countries.

The interests of security of the southern sea borders demand to preserve the united Black Sea Fleet, they said in an address to Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk adopted on Wednesday at a general assembly of the officers, according to the press centre of the navy.

The pilots said that the agreement to split the fleet reached during the Moscow summit on June 17 "did not drop, but on the contrary, aggravated the problems of the fleet".

They called on the Russian and Ukrainian leaders to "urgently solve issues" to keep the fleet united, to grant double citizenship to navy servicemen and their families, to pay compensation for losses sustained because of an artificial rouble-karbovanets exchange rate and ensure the implementation of Russian laws concerning the fleet personnel.

Moscow Hosts Georgia-Abkhazia Peace Talks

MK1806104293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Another Truce in Abkhazia. Georgian-Abkhazian-Russian Talks in Progress in Moscow"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Active talks are under way between Georgian and Abkhazian representatives simultaneously with humanitarian operations in the conflict zone. While the talks are part of the current peace operations, local observers think that, if put on a regular basis, they may mark the start of positive changes. The main effort to find an exit from the Abkhazian crisis is being made in Moscow, however, where envoys of the Georgian, Abkhazian, and Russian sides have come together. The Georgian delegation is lead by Aleksandr Kavsadze, representative of the head of state on the Abkhazian issue. The Georgian delegation to the Moscow talks continues to insist, as before, on using the Moscow accords of 3 September 1992 and 14 May 1993 as the basis for a settlement. Tbilisi also insists that these documents be used without any revisions. [passage omitted]

The political situation in Tbilisi remains tense. A rally of the most radical opposition forces led by Irakliy Tsereteli has been set for 22 June. On Wednesday, former Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani appeared on Georgian television and made a personal statement. According to Kitovani, he is under Georgian special services surveillance. They keep tabs on all his business and private contacts, and tap telephone conversations. Kitovani stated that if this keeps up, Georgia would be in for political assassinations.

Georgian Delegation's Statement on Talks

LD2206141093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 22 Jun 93

["Statement of the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Delegation of the Republic of Georgia at the Negotiations on Resolving the Abkhaz Conflict"—read by announcer]

[Text] It is sad, but we have to conclude that the negotiations on the unconditional cease-fire in the conflict zone of Abkhazia have been drawn into deadlock again. The unconstructive stance with which the Gudauta delegation arrived in Moscow and the fact that it does not want to reach consensus is surprising.

First, at the beginning of negotiations there was an assurance that the Gudauta delegation had the authority to sign the agreement. But after the text of the agreement had been finalized, the head of the delegation, Mr. Jerdula, announced that the delegation did not have such authority.

Second, the delegation of the Georgian Republic, which took into consideration the importance and necessity of reaching an unconditional cease-fire and creating an effective mechanism for monitoring this agreement as an inevitable step toward a full-scale settlement, agreed to compromise on the Gudauta delegation's every suggestion. Georgia was even ready to discuss the absurd demand—unprecedented by international standards—put to two sovereign states, Russia and Georgia, not to sign an agreement of friendship and cooperation before the final settlement of the Abkhaz conflict.

As is known, the world community is watching the development of processes in the Transcaucasus with alarm. This was expressed by the active participation of the United Nations and the CSCE in working out a plan for resolving the Abkhaz conflict in a political and peaceful manner.

Personal representatives of the Russian Federation president and the head of state of the Republic of Georgia, expressing the positions of their states, support the efforts of the world community. The Gudauta leadership says that it does not trust international organizations and does not wish to cooperate with them.

This means that Abkhazia's Gudauta side is not interested in either ending the bloodshed or reaching a wide-scale settlement of the conflict and that it continues to exterminate its own people and destroy Abkhazia's civic towns, driven by its own ambitions.

The Georgian delegation states that under the circumstances—when the agreements reached with the help of Russia's mediation are repeatedly breached, and when today the two sides, Russia and Georgia, are ready to sign the agreement, but Abkhazia's Gudauta side denies it—a logical question arises: Where does Russia see its role as a mediator?

The Republic of Georgia holds the Gudauta leadership responsible for wrecking the talks and retains the right to carry out relevant measures to safeguard its territorial integrity and state security. To save people's lives, and under the condition that the Gudauta side takes on the responsibility and comprehends it, the Georgian delegation is ready to set the negotiations toward resolving the Abkhaz conflict peacefully.

Gudauta Side Criticized

LD2206142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1329 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jun—"The Gudauta side has refused to sign an agreement on cease-fire in Abkhazia and a mechanism for monitoring its implementation, the text of which was agreed by the Russian and Georgian sides," Sandro Kavsadze announced at a news conference today. S. Kavsadze is the personal representative of the head of the Georgian state at the latest trilateral meeting, which has just ended in Moscow.

A statement from the Georgian delegation circulated here today says "the talks on an unconditional cease-fire have yet again reached a deadlock due to the unconstructive position adopted by the Gudauta side at the talks." The document stresses that "the Georgian delegation, taking into account the prime importance and the need for the agreement on an unconditional cease-fire and the setting up of a mechanism to monitor it, as an inevitable step on the way of full-scale settlement, has agreed to compromise on all proposals put forward by the Gudauta side. However, its leader has refused to sign the document after its text was agreed to by the sides, saying he has no appropiate authority to sign it, though he confirmed such authority at the beginning of the talks."

In connection with this, the statement says, "the Republic of Georgia lays the responsibility for disrupting the talks on the Gudauta leadership and reserves the right to take necessary steps to protect its territorial integrity and state security, though it it prepared to continue the talks on the condition that the Gudauta leadership will show responsibility and understanding."

During the news conference, Sandro Kavsadze added that the Abkhazian delegation "refused even to include in a draft agreement the issue of UN participation in the settlement of the conflict, having said that it does not trust international organizations and that it is unwilling to cooperate with them despite the fact that both Russian and Georgian representatives insisted on this."

Troops Reportedly To Stay in Georgia Indefinitely

MK2206092093 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 11 18-25 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 10 Jun) p 2

[6TH-STORY news agency-signed report under the "Army" rubric: "Russian Troops Not To Be Removed From Transcaucasus Soon"]

[Text] According to informed sources, the main unresolved issue in the run-up to the signing of a treaty between Russia and Georgia, which may take place as early as this June, is the presence, and withdrawal, of the units of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus. No concept of Russia's political interests in the Transcaucasus has so far been worked out in Moscow at the political level, hence the delay of the definitive decision on the withdrawal of the troops. Georgia, for its part, has been "pushing" Russia toward this decision by condoning unlawful actions against the Group, which in effect amount to terror tactics.

Most Russian officers in Georgia, however, are convinced that they will serve on Georgian territory for a long time to come. The chiefs of administrations of Krasnodar Kray and the city of Novorossiysk are also slow to build housing facilities for the 345th Paratroopers Regiment, which is temporarily deployed in the Abkhazian city of Gudauta.

But even if an agreement on the withdrawal of troops by the end of 1995 is signed by the presidents, its implementation looks very problematic. The thing is that the bulk of the group of forces—three motorized infantry divisions—are deployed in areas where the Tbilisi authorities' influence is fairly insignificant.

The 127th Motorized Infantry Division is located in the Armenian city of Gyumri, so, given the latest developments in Karabakh and Turkey's manifest desire for leadership in the region, which grows stronger by the

day, Yerevan will not agree to its redeployment. Currently, the Armenian authorities are doing their utmost to make Russian officers in Gyumri feel as comfortable as possible. Yerevan also needs this division as an effectively free training center for the personnel of its national armed forces—many servicemen of the division (soldiers, sergeants, and warrant officers) are Armenian citizens.

In Akhalkalaki, where the units of the 147th Motorized Infantry Division are located, the predominantly Armenian population pursues their own policies, independent from Tbilisi. The chiefs of the Armenian community are afraid that once the Russian troops are withdrawn, the Tbilisi authorities may strengthen their positions in the area, which, in turn, may destabilize the political situation and create another hotbed of civil war in Georgia.

The leaders of Ajaria need the Batumi-based 145th Motorized Infantry Division just as badly—as a shield on the border with Turkey, on the one hand, and as a "lightning rod" in their relations with the republic's central authorities on the other.

This is why the prospects of an early withdrawal may apply only to the units and subunits under district command—for example, the Kutaisi-based staff units of the 31st Army Corps. They are planned to be withdrawn by 1 July to the North Caucasian and Volga River Military Districts.

Uzbek Decision on Limiting Gas Transit 'Ill-Considered'

MK2206124093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 27, 22 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 21 Jun) p 2

[Rustam Narzikulov report under "Blackmail" rubric: "Russia Neutralizes Uzbekistan's Tough Methods. Attempt To Hike Turkmen Gas Transit Tariffs Fails"]

[Text] According to a POSTFACTUM report, the Uzbekistan Government has sharply limited, as of 16 June, the amount of Turkmen gas sent across its territory to Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasus countries, Russia, and Ukraine. Uzbekistan's representatives demanded that the current transit price of 255 rubles per 1,000 cubic meters of gas per 100 kilometers be raised to at least 480 rubles. The original volume of transit gas, however, was fully restored following intensive talks on 18 June. In the words of a high-ranking official of Turkmenistan's Oil and Gas Ministry, all buyers of Turkmen gas threatened the Uzbek Government with stopping delivery of their goods to Uzbekistan.

Officials on the Uzbek side expressed their discontent with the size of transit tariffs as early as 5 June, upon the conclusion in Ashgabat of a treaty on the cost of Turkmen gas and transport tariffs that was signed, in addition to Uzbekistan, by Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasus countries, Russia, and Ukraine. Uzbekistan's dissatisfaction is based on the fact that the price of Turkmen gas was doubled while transit tariffs were increased by just 30 percent. Kazakhstan too, where the length of the transit pipeline is longer than in Uzbekistan (800 km against 386 km) expressed its discontent. At that time, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstani representatives also decided to ask the World Bank to formulate its conclusion on the matter by 5 September 1993.

Uzbekistan's demarche on 16 June must have been prompted by one of two reasons. Either they in the republic thought the time required by the World Bank to study the problem too long, or (more likely) the republic's leaders had concluded that a World Bank verdict, which does not have the force of law, would be ignored by gas consumers. Whatever reason prompted the Uzbek side to limit the transit of gas, the decision to use pressure was ill-considered primarily because one of the consumers is the Russian concern Gazprom. Russia is a clear creditor of Uzbekistan which also heavily depends on imports (goods brought into the country comprise nearly a quarter of its gross national product. [no closing parethesis as received] Thus, Uzbekistan made a decision that is exceptional in the practice of interstate relations—to talk with its creditors (since credits are not being repaid in full, Russia in fact plays the role of a donor state) from a position of strength. Much subtler are the actions of Ukraine which, in the absence of money to pay for all the Russian gas it needs, does not insist on higher transit tariffs as it periodically undertakes acts of piracy along the transnational pipeline from Russia to West Europe. West European consumers send their complaints to Gazprom which, in turn, is obliged to persuade Ukraine to let the pipe, which does not belong to it, alone, already after part of the gas ends up with someone for whom it was not meant.

Negotiator Criticizes Estonia's Adoption of Foreigners Law

LD2206145093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] On Monday [21 Jun], Estonia's State Assembly adopted a law on foreigners by a margin of 59 votes to three. The law regards all residents of the republic who are not Estonian citizens as foreigners. This includes the overwhelming majority of permanent residents belonging to the Russian-speaking community, which accounts for some 40 percent of the population in Estonia.

Mayak asked Vasiliy Vasilyevich Svirin, head of the Russian Federation state delegation at the talks with Estonia and special ambassador, to clarify Russia's stand on the issue.

[Begin Svirin recording] Answering the question asked by Mayak radio, I should like to note that the Russian delegation at the talks with the Republic of Estonia very much hoped that with Estonia's admission to the Council of Europe there would be positive changes in its policy toward the Russian-speaking population. We expected that the admission of the Republic of Estonia to

the family of highly civilized European states would induce it to gradually eliminate discrimination of ethnic Russians. To our great disappointment this was not to be. I am inclined to regard this law not as an isolated case, but as a link in the chain of legislative and other acts that perpetuate discrimination of ethnic Russians and create a legal basis for forcing them out of Estonia.

The most disgraceful thing is that discriminatory decisions against Russian servicemen, armed forces pensioners, and staff of defense industry enterprises are being adopted in Estonia at the time when two draft document have already been agreed to a large extent. These documents contain provisions already agreed upon with the Estonian side, which safeguard the rights of those persons to use and privatize the apartments they are occupying, as well as to sell the right to occupy these apartments. We are deeply concerned about the evident signs of aggressive nationalism gathering strength in Estonia. The law in question, the law on foreigners, is a reflection of these signs.

I should like to conclude by saying that decisions recently taken in Estonia in the humanitarian sphere can seriously jeopardize Russian-Estonian relations and make the negotiating process extremely difficult. [end recording]

That was Vasiliy Svirin, head of the Russian state delegation at the talks with Estonia. Let me add that on the day the law on foreigners was adopted in Estonia, the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a statement deploring the Estonian leadership's discriminatory policy. However, commenting on the situation in Estonia, today's newspapers describes the stand of the Russian Foreign Ministry as much too soft, even despite the tough tone of yesterday's statement.

Military Schools Admit Russians From Neighbor States

PM2206115693 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Defense Ministry Press Center report: "Doors of Russian Federation Defense Ministry Higher Education Establishments Not Closed to Young Men From Neighboring States"]

[Text] "We are Russians, but we live in Estonia. Our son is graduating from school and wants to enter a military school on Russian territory in order later to continue service in the Russian Army. Is that possible?" The Russian Federation Defense Ministry receives plenty of letters like this.

We announce connection with this that the doors of Russian military educational establishments are open to boys living outside Russia. Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, deputy defense minister, has issued a special directive clarifying the procedure for people living on the territory of CIS states, the Baltic states, and the Republic of Georgia to enter military educational establishments. Young men from our close neighbors will be admitted to the selection process once they have produced a certificate or other documentation to prove their Russian citizenship. Their traveling expenses from their place of residence to—and, in the event of nonadmission, from—the military educational establishment will be reimbursed.

Russian-German Forum Discusses Conversion

PM2206120393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Valentin Rudenko report: "Conversion As Economic Factor. This Idea Was Theme of Russian-German 'Roundtable' in Moscow"]

[Text] Gathered in the cozy auditorium of the ex-CEMA building (now Moscow City Hall) representatives of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Government, the Defense Ministry, the Moscow Soviet, the Moscow Oblast Soviet, Moscow City Hall, and the Moscow Oblast administration, as well as leaders of defense enterprises, design bureaus, and research institutes, and also foreign visitors—members of the Berlin Senate and the Brandenburg Government, businessmen, and entrepreneurs—did not theorize about conversion, but immediately got down to practical matters in their discussion. Even the brief recesses were used solely to establish contacts and discuss potential joint programs.

This mutual interest is quite understandable. Both Russia and Germany's eastern Laender are today experiencing the profound and dramatic processes of the economic and social transformations brought about by the transition to a market economy. Events are developing in such a way that the center of gravity of the reforms is increasingly shifting to the regions, whose well-being and prosperity is largely determined by how successfully military production units are being diversified.

The Moscow region (Moscow and Moscow Oblast) has the greatest scientific and technical potential in Russia and Europe, concentrated mainly in defense enterprises, Moscow Soviet Deputy Chairman L. Belov; A. Dolgolaptev, first deputy head of the Moscow Oblast administration; A. Braginskiy, deputy premier of the Moscow Government, and other speakers pointed out during the "roundtable" session. However, state-of-the-art science-intensive technologies and "knowhow" are by no means always made into a competitive, marketable product.

The Berlin region of Germany (Berlin and the Brandenburg Land) has basically already carried out structural reorganization of industry and has definite experience in working in a market environment, but it needs new high technologies to further develop competitive production units. Russian and German industrialists pooling efforts could produce a palpable economic return for both countries. Dr. Klaus-Henrich Standke, president of the "East-West" Economic Academy, said that the "roundtable" was a good sign that this kind of cooperation will

be possible. Walter Hierche, Brandenburg minister for the economy and technology, also voiced confidence in this.

The statement by Andrey Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister, aroused keen interest among the participants in the "roundtable."

"Our idea of national industrial policy, in whose formation the Defense Ministry is taking a very active part, consists of making as much use as possible of world experience of structural reorganization of industry, Germany included, as well as Russian defense enterprises' traditional strong points," Andrey Afanasyevich said. "These being primarily an ability to manufacture high-technology systems and compete successfully in this respect with the most advanced and developed countries, including the United States. Only a few states have that ability."

The most important task facing the enterprises undergoing conversion is not just to preserve, but also to continue to develop and build up their scientific and intellectual potential, switching from manufacturing military output to producing science-intensive nonmilitary output. Incidentally, attempts to use the capacities of the defense complex in this way have been made for a long time now, back in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, but they had no marked effect at the time. At present, unique opportunities are opening up for the structural reorganization of our economy. The Defense Ministry sees the main foundation of the state's might primarily in the development of high-technology nonmilitary sectors of industry that could in turn also be the basis for military production. Optimum production, sufficient to ensure the country's reliable defense capability.

Vitaliy Vitebskiy, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Industry and Power Generation, who spoke next, delivered a report entitled "Legal Aspects of Foreign Investment," pointing out that the ideas voiced by the first deputy defense minister meet with the Supreme Soviet's understanding and support. The committee and the Defense Ministry work in close contact and this is is helping to be more prompt in preparing the documents that form the legal and normative base for the structural reorganization of Russia's industry.

The participants in the "roundtable" proposed that a regional center be set up for the exchange of technologies and "knowhow," promoting the organization of cooperation between the Moscow and Berlin regions. The intention is to formulate a special program for the joint resolution of a number of scientific and economic problems. For instance, in the sphere of satellite communications, laser technologies, sensors, alternative sources of power, robotics, etc.

Within the "roundtable" framework a visit to the "Conversion-93" exhibition was organized as well as a visit to a number of the Moscow and Moscow Oblast defense enterprises that are undergoing conversion.

Germans Seeking 'Baltic Republic' Begin Moscow Conference

LD2206124593 Berlin ADN in German 1145 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The creation of a 'German Baltic Republic' is a professed aim of the Russian German organization 'Freedom' [Freiheit], whose conference opened in Moscow today. About 100 delegates from all areas of the Russian Federation took part in the conference. The organization was set up exactly a year ago and says it has several thousand members.

In an open letter to President Boris Yeltsin and to Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, the participants propose the establishment of a republic in the Kaliningrad area. "This republic is our last opportunity to preserve the Russian Germans as a people," Engel Hoffmann, chairman of 'Freedom' told ADN. Over the past few years, the Russian leadership has shown that it is not interested in re-establishing a Volga Republic. Additionally, the Russians living on the Volga will never leave voluntarily.

About 2 million ethnic Germans live in the successor states to the former USSR. In addition to the 960,000 in Kazakhstan, 850,000 and 38,000 live in Russia and Ukraine respectively. There are 100,000 ethnic Germans in Kyrgyzstan, 40,000 in Uzbekistan, 33,000 in Tajikistan, and about 14,000 in other republics. Until 1941, most of the Russian Germans lived in the Volga Republic which was liquidated by Stalin. The most important representative of the interests of the Russian Germans is the 'Rebirth' organization which has 80,000 members.

'Unprovoked Attacks' on Servicemen in FRG Noted

PM2206153793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Pashayev report: "Bitter Notes at the End"]

[Text] There are fewer and fewer of our troops in Germany, but more and more criminal backlashes against Russian citizens.

You cannot call the situation prevailing in Germany today with regard to Russian military garrisons serene. Scarcely a day passes in the Western Group of Forces [WGF] without attempts by outsiders to somehow infiltrate our camps being stopped. More often than not the uninvited guests turn out to be immigrants from the CIS and Eastern Europe. Some are drawn there by stores where prices of commodities are slightly lower, while some hope to strike up profitable acquaintances and find a temporary refuge. Often representatives of the military

commandant's office catch people "in the act" of trying to urge servicemen to sell weapons, ammunition, and military property.

Of late unprovoked attacks on our compatriots have become more frequent. The unrest over the incident in Eberswalde-Finow (Brandenburg), where a criminal inflicted several stab wounds on schoolchild Zhenya Shevchuk in broad daylight, literally 200 meters from the military camp's checkpoint, had not subsided before the WGF press center circulated a report of another incident. This time the victim was I. Dubentsov, a Russian Armed Forces employee. He was beaten up without cause by a group of German youths at the railroad station in Fuerstenwald. The victim was taken to a German clinic and then to a Russian military hospital; he was diagnosed as suffering from concussion and a broken leg.

The following day an attempt by FRG citizens F. Bamidorff and K. Meer to infiltrate an installation guarded by the WGF in the population center of Toepchin (Brandenburg) almost ended in tragedy. The intruders were only stopped when the sentry, Private V. Bychkovskiy, fired a shot into the air as a last resort.

I would not like to think that the end of the Russian troop withdrawal from Germany will be overshadowed by all manner of criminal backlashes. But that is what is happening. This must be taken into consideration and definite conclusions must be drawn.

Military Contact Program Established With France

LD2206153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1512 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—A programme of contacts for 1994-1995 period has been signed between military establishments of Russia and France by commander-in-chief of the Russian Armed Forces Colonel-General Mikhail Kolesnikov and his French counterpart Admiral Jacques Lanxade who is in Russia on an official visit.

During the talks discussions were held on questions concerning the further development of bilateral relations in the military sphere, according to information received by ITAR-TASS at the Russian Ministry of Defence press centre. French Ambassador to Russia Pierre Morel was present at the meeting held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, according to a press centre assessment.

The French guest will hold a meeting with the First Deputy Defence Minister Andrey Kokoshin on Wednesday.

Commentary Assesses Russia's Relations With Europe

LD2106150493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] A two-day session of the European Council has opened in Copenhagen. In our commentary, Anatoliy Potapov considers one of the important points on the agenda of the summit meeting of 12 West European countries.

The current chairman of the European Community, Danish Prime Minister Poul Nyrop Rasmussen, has described the Community's relations with Russia as an essential part of the discussion in Copenhagen. Indeed, the preparation of an agreement on partnership and cooperation between the two may be expected to be carefully examined.

In fact, such an agreement was to have been signed in Copenhagen today, for which President Boris Yeltsin was to visit the Danish capital. But the signing has been postponed and, hence, the visit. The reason appears to be that the European Community included in the draft agreement considerable restrictions on trade with Russia on the grounds that a centralized economy still predominates. The reforms to shift Russia's economy to the (?rails) of free enterprise were ignored, so the agreement was not oriented on the future.

Understandably, Moscow objected to such a discriminatory measure as restrictions on the trade of Russian companies with the European market. The Danish prime minister suggested that President Yeltsin sign an agreement covering the provisions on which understanding had been reached and leave the disputed issue to a few years later. But the Russian President refused.

The signs are, however, that the difficulties have not diminished the wish of both sides to promote cooperation. Work on an agreement continues. Just a day or two ago, more talks were held in Brussels. Significantly, too, the Danish prime minister said, just before the European Council opened session in Copenhagen, that the agreement was to be completed at top speed. This must indicate the Council's general attitude toward relations with Russia. He also said, and this seems to be another indication of the same, Russia is a huge country and plays a big role in the world economy and the political balance. The European Council is aware of this.

Russia, for its part, is ready to make all the necessary efforts to reach an agreement satisfactory to both sides, and it is certainly in the interests of the European economy to have a free trade zone incorporating Russia.

Albanian Delegation Arrives for Transportation Talks

AU2306071393 Tirana ATA in English 0836 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 22 (ATA)—At the invitation of the minister of transportation of the Russian Federation, an

Albanian delegation led by the minister of transport and communication of Albania, Fatos Bitincka, arrived on a visit in the Russian Federation on Sunday [20 June]. The visit will last on June 24. [sentance as received] At the airport of Sheremetjevo, the delegation was welcomed by the vice minister of transport of the Russian Federation, Genadij Matjushov, and other functionaries of this ministry.

On this occasion, two agreements will be signed between the respective ministries for the air and road transport.

Transport Agreement To Be Signed

AU2306071593 Tirana ATA in English 1809 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 22 (ATA)—On June 21, the minister of transportation of the Russian Republic, Vitaliy Borisovich, had a meeting with the delegation of the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Albania led by Minister Fatos Bitincka. They talked on concrete problems of bilateral cooperation in the field of road, air, sea, and railway transportation. They agreed on signing an air and road transport agreement on June 23. Both parties valued the negotiations as useful and constructive. The delegation had also working meetings in the department of navigation and that of maintenance of roads.

Present in these meetings was the ambassador of Albania in Moscow, Arben Cici.

Russian-Bulgarian Economic Deals Signed

PM2206125593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Svetlana Balashova report: "When the Vice Premiers Are 35 Years Old"]

[Text] Sofia—At the beginning of June a Russian government delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov visited Bulgaria. Both the Russian and the Bulgarian sides deemed the results of the talks successful.

Coincidentally, the deputy prime ministers of both Russia and Bulgaria are each 35 years old.

"My, how young you are!" Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev exclaimed in surprise to Boris Fedorov on meeting the delegation. "But after all, so am I!" Valentin Karabashev countered.

It is still hard to get used to the fact that young people are taking up the reins of state rule, that the notorious socialist patriarch "Mister No" is being ousted by a young "Mister Yes," who has the skill to resolve state problems quickly, efficiently, and cleverly, without bureaucratic procrastinations. These were the qualities displayed by both vice premiers at the Sofia meeting.

Three days of intense work in the "Boyana" residence by the intergovernment commission, with every minute fully booked, culminated in the signing of several documents: the Treaty on the Mutual Protection of Investments, the Treaty on the Inadmissibility of Dual Taxation of the Same Goods, and the Agreement on Bulgarian-Russian Economic Cooperation through the end of 1993 (initialed by experts, and to be signed by the governments in the next two-three weeks), the Agreement on the Delivery of Yamburg Gas to Bulgaria until 1996, and the protocols on cooperation in the sphere of machine building and the creation of a Russian-Bulgarian joint-stock bank in Moscow, with a branch in Sofia. "Balkanbank" will be the main Bulgarian partner. A promise was given that negotiations on this matter with the Association of Russian Trade Banks would commence immediately upon the delegation's return to Moscow. The joint bank will serve firms trading with one another in both countries. This document is assessed as highly important. The opening of the bank will unfreeze Russian-Bulgarian commerce, which has come to a standstill in recent months. Another factor arresting its development is the countries' mutual debts. Paying them off is made difficult by differences in the figures of these debts and the search for an exchange rate to convert into dollars debts denoted in transferable rubles and clearing dollars. The latter, as both sides recognized, prove to be "very dubious money." Finally, positions were brought nearer, although, Fedorov told journalists, certain anomalies still remain. But the most important thing is that the search for a way out of the deadlock has begun, and in the opinion of the Russian deputy prime minister this problem should be resolved by 15 June this year. Then the remainder of Russia's debt to Bulgaria can be quickly paid off in goods which the latter needs—machine building products, for instance.

One more problem of no lesser significance in the trade relations of our countries was discussed—the problem of transport. Not only Deputy Transport Minister Viktor Berezin, but also Konstantin Vlasyuk, representative of Krasnodar Kray Administration, made a considerable input on this issue. The port of Novorossiysk has been designated as Russia's most important, and virtually its only, southern port. Today it is loaded to capacity. Therefore, a proposal was examined for the "river-sea" transport artery to be used, ships suitable for this purpose being constructed, and for a ferry line to be opened between Novorossiysk and Varna, not only for the transportation of freight, but also for motorized passengers. In the future this transport bridge could be used by Europe and Asia. Konstantin Vlasyuk also expressed a wish to hold talks with any Bulgarian firm ready to invest funds in the construction of additional port installations. The participation of the regional heads of administration and representatives of individual firms—as, for example, the "Uralmash" joint-stock company—in the present negotiations and the possibily of signing agreements independently are yet another new focus in foreign economic policy which has been noted by the Bulgarian press.

In listing the issues discussed by the intergovernment commission, I have tried to talk about the most significant. But surely Bulgaria's proposal to participate in the rehabilitation of 32,000 oil wells in the Surgut deposit cannot be passed over in silence. The investment of Bulgarian funds in the operation of these wells will give Bulgaria not only oil, but also thousands of jobs, which is so important in view of the rapidly growing unemployment in the country. The same goes for the Russian program to covert the Bulgarian arms industry that was submitted by Gennadiy Voronin, deputy minister of the Russian Federation Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry.

"At long last we have a real opportunity to trade; before it looked like we were trading, but no one ever saw the money from this trade!" Oleg Davydov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, stated enthusiastically at the concluding meeting of businessmen in the "Boyana" residence.

Voronezh Press Makers Attract Chinese Interest

PM2206133193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Video report by L. Bubko and V. Kirillov from Voronezh; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Bubko] These huge presses with the brand of the Voronezh "Tyazhmekhpress" [heavy mechanical presses] Joint-Stock Company are much in demand not only on the Russian market but also abroad. Motor industry and engineering companies in Japan, Italy, and France have been buying them for years. Nowadays, special interest in the Voronezh presses is being shown by countries in Asia, especially China.

By today's standards the enterprise is living and operating normally. But that does not mean that it is not weighed down by a multitude of problems. [passage omitted]

Stalin Reportedly Gave $1.1 Billion to Kim Il-song for Korean War

SK2306092393 Seoul YONHAP in English 0840 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 23 (YONHAP)—Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin provided at least 1 billion rubles (1.1 billion U.S. dollars) of arms to North Korea between October 1950, when the North Korean Army was virtually destroyed, and July 1953, when firing ceased in the Korean war, a Russian military historian said on Wednesday.

Gavriil Korotkov, senior fellow at the Russian Defense Ministry's Institute for Military History, in an interview with YONHAP, quoted from a report on the Korean war that the Soviet Defense Ministry submitted after Stalin's death to Nikita Khrushchev when he was first secretary of the Communist Party.

According to this report, Stalin gave North Korea some 800 military aircraft, including MiG-15 and MiG-17 fighters, over 10,000 artillery pieces, 600-odd anti-aircraft guns, 2,000 tanks and self-propelled Howitzers, over 80 armored personnel carriers, 1,100 motorcycles, 300,000 rifles, including 100,000 carbines, 110, 000 automatic rifles and 36,000 machine guns to rebuild its army from defeat by the U.N. Forces.

Using these Soviet weapons, North Korea reorganized and expanded its Army, Air Force and Navy into 25 infantry, tank and mechanized divisions, nine independent brigades, 23 independent regiments, five Air Force divisions, four anti-aircraft artillery divisions and 13 naval squadrons for a 500,000-strong armed forces.

Korotkov said some 2,500 North Koreans were trained in the use of Soviet weapons in Soviet military units, while 1,500 Soviet military advisers were assigned to North Korean military units.

Noting that the Soviet military aid to North Korea covered by the report alone amounted to more than 1 billion rubles, he said the entire Soviet aid would far surpass this amount.

The 1 billion-ruble aid consisted of 800-odd million rubles in grants, 64 million rubles in long-term loans and 80 million rubles in short-term credit sales.

It was in late February 1949, when North Korean leader Kim Il-song was called to Moscow for two meetings with Stalin, that a plan for the Korean War was first discussed, the military historian said.

Kim met Foreign Minister Vyacheslev Molotov on March 4 and Stalin the following day, according to him. Kim met Stalin for the second time on March 7 and the two leaders agreed, in principle, on Soviet military assitance to North Korea for its invasion of South Korea.

Then on March 12, Kim met Defense Minister Nikolay Bulganin for detailed discussions of the military assistance. Attending this meeting were such North Korean leaders as Pak Hon-yong and Mun Il. The Soviet Army chief of staff, the Soviet ambassador to Pyongyang and other Soviet Government leaders also attended the meeting.

Korotkov said there was no doubt that Stalin gave "a sword of invasion" to Kim in view of the records of the Korean War known so far.

G-7 Said To Consider Opening Moscow Oversight Mission

PM2306104993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Sychev report: "Domestic Problems Will Dominate at Tokyo Talks of G-7 Leaders"]

[Excerpts] The vote of no confidence in the government of Kiichi Miyazawa recently passed by the Japanese

parliament and the early election scheduled in this connection for 18 July have substantially complicated the conditions under which the Tokyo meeting of heads of state and government of the world's seven most developed countries will be held. [passage omitted]

As regards Russia, in addition to the already known package of measures valued at $43 billion, the G-7 proposes to support Moscow's application to join GATT. To all appearances, Washington has succeeded in enlisting its partners' support for its initiative to set up a fund to assist privatization in Russia. Having encountered the West Europeans' reluctance to agree to additional expenditure, however, as well as the Americans' obvious disapproval of their President's penchant for charity abroad, Clinton has agreed to cut the size of the fund eightfold—to $500 million. The sensation of the Tokyo summit could be another initiative of Washington's—the opening in Moscow of a permanent G-7 mission which will be responsible for coordinating Western financial aid and assistance for Russia.

As is known, the G-7 does not have standing institutions and, in the opinion of France, the emergence of some structure might be perceived worldwide as an attempt by the G-7 to establish a "world directorate"—which will harm its prestige. At the same time the uncertainty, which is shared by all seven states, that large financial injections into the Russian economy will be utilized properly and to the maximum effect has prompted London and Bonn to support Clinton in this, by insisting on the inclusion in the draft declaration of the notion that in any case the success of economic recovery depends on Russia alone. This could mean that Russia should not count on more than has already been promised.

Official Comments on Reports of G-7 Office in Moscow

LD2206153293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1451 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—The need for efficient coordination of economic and financial aid rendered to Russia by the "Seven" to implement all the adopted programs is quite evident; thus, specific forms of this interaction are now being discussed, Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov told ITAR-TASS today.

The official commented on a report of today's French LE MONDE issue on the intention of the seven Western industrialized nations to open their permanent office in Moscow.

In the diplomat's opinion, there are possibilities to coordinate economic and financial assistance of the "Seven" at various levels. For instance, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen suggested during his recent Russian visit to open a permanent Moscow office of the "Seven" to overcome bureaucratic obstacles on the way of efficient assistance to Russia.

Interaction was also discussed at the April meeting of Seven ministers of finance and foreign affairs in Tokyo. Thus, the MONDE report could hardly be described as a sensation, noted Lavrov.

World Bank Credit To Help Siberian Oil Industry

PM2206144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed "Energy" report]

[Text] The World Bank has said that it is giving Russia $610 million in credits for capital investments in the development of the oil industry in West Siberia.

It will be the biggest loan the World Bank has ever made for one project. The credit is to be spent on repairs to 1,300 oil wells, the drilling of 84 new ones, the construction of an oil refinery, and the repalcement of more than 1,000 kilometers of oil pipeline.

Expansion of Russian Arms Trade Urged

PM2306092193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Vyacheslav Shchepotkin under "Republic's Property" rubric: "Volley of Bans Against Missiles"]

[Text] Everything in the sky and in space is stuffed with equipment from the Sarapul electric generator association. The technical standard of what is produced here in the small city on the Kama can be judged by the fact that in the entire world there are only two firms which make liquid-cooled electric generators—one is American, the other is in Sarapul.

Also reliable is the other output which, until recently, left along well established channels—to the aviation and missile plants for the servicing of equipment in operation. No one supposed that all this could collapse in a trice.

"Imagine what the collective felt," Yevgeniy Petrovich Storonkin, the association's general director, says, "when, for no reason at all, our articles were rejected en masse... You could have knocked us down with a feather."

Today a term has been thought up for this: landslide conversion. It has indeed been like a landslide. Without any warning the government cut off appropriations for the production of military equipment and arms. The output of many plants, particularly aircraft and missile plants, proved to be needed by no one. Without the money for payment these enterprises, in turn, renounced the services of their suppliers. A wave of refusals swept the Russian military-industrial complex like a convulsion.

In contrast to many defense enterprises in Udmurtia, the Sarapul electric generator association had already encountered the drastic, unpredictable blows of conversion "Gorbachev style." The treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles has closed whole production facilities here and at the "Votkinskiy Zavod" enterprise, where they used to make SS-20 missiles. Production facilities which had been created recently and were equipped up to world standards. But the blow of conversion at the time was like a light cold compared with the paralysis of 1992.

No one disputes that conversion is needed. But what kind of conversion? World practice shows that if it is a case not of structural restructuring of postwar industry and not of the economy of a defeated country, then the optimum level of conversion is 4-5 percent a year. Let us take China as an example. Why China? Because according to the assessments of specialists our military-industrial complexes are of the same type. According to Chinese military doctrine they need just 10 percent of the capacities of the military-industrial complex to meet the army's needs. That is why China is also carrying out conversion. But how? In the period from 1979 through 1991 the production of military output was reduced 50 percent. Everyone can calculate how much that is a year. And the expenditure on science is not only not declining, but it is actually growing.

But what has happened in Russia? The volume of defense output last year was more than halved. Financing was reduced 56.8 percent.

The battering ram of conversion caused an even greater hole to Udmurtia, where the proportion of military output in the total volume of industrial production was nearly 86 percent. The production of defense items was reduced 78 percent. As a result the lives not only of many enterprises but also of entire cities were jeopardized: Of Votkinsk's 100,000 inhabitants 70 percent are involved in the "Votkinskiy Zavod" production association.

Meanwhile scientists, designers, engineers, and workers of the military-industrial complex have created many works of technological art that to reproduce some of them, the most advanced countries would need five years while others would need 10 years, and yet others 15-20 years. Therefore a reduction in defense spending must not destroy the scientific and technical potential concentrated in the defense sectors. The conversion program can only be like this, of course, if the aim is the structural restructuring of the military-industrial complex and not its deliberate razing "to the ground."

In some places debris has already resulted. I mean not only individual sectors of the Russian military-industrial complex, such as, let us say, military shipbuilding, which has "turned turtle," or powder enterprises (defense orders at the major "Progress" Association have fallen to 5 percent, and specialists believe that it will hardly be possible to reinstate powder production there if a need for certain munitions arises now). The landslide of the 1992 conversion also thoroughly buried the Udmurt military-industrial complex.

Receiving miserly wages (the average annual wage was 4,670 rubles, whereas it was several times higher at the neighboring brewery) and continuing to support kindergartens, places of rest, and housing, the association's collective, partly by retraining itself, began starting up production of new output and expanding production of those products which had made a good name for themselves on the market. Even before last year's landslide they had started producing sets of "Universal" power tools. Then they started producing a small, convenient electric welding device for private farmers and motorists. All the electrical equipment for the new generation of Izhevsk motorcycles. Extraction recording instruments for oil workers. New calculating machines for banks and cash offices.

In the republic as a whole the defense industry has begun producing dozens of new commodities. But it has failed to make up for what has been destroyed. The volume of all industrial output has fallen 28 percent. With regard to motor vehicles alone, 112,000 were produced instead of 180,000.

One of the causes is the lack of funds. There is nothing with which to buy subassemblies, raw materials, or equipment for new production facilities. In the aforementioned association in Sarapul, there is a section which can only be called an example of the absurd. Today it produces 160,000 "Universals." It could make 600,000 a year. An entire line was purchased for this purpose. It only remained to buy a small link. Two governments—Silayev's and Gaydar's—repeatedly adopted decisions to allocate $7.5 million for this. Both governments realized that the line's completion would not only saturate the domestic market with complex domestic equipment but also provide currency and repay the investment within a short time. But there is still a hole in the section, and costly equipment is lying idle.

The cracked military-industrial complex cannot be saved without support. In order not to ruin the tremendous potential created by millions of people—and the defense industry will not withstand a second landslide—financial, tax, and organizational assistance is needed. Specialists have calculated that it will take 15 years to carry out the effective structural restructuring of the Russian military-industrial complex and it will cost $150 billion. Only in this case will conversion produce a tremendous return.

They Did Not Know How To Trade, and Now They Have Forgotten Altogether

It so happened that we mainly confined the sales market for weapons to "friendly" regimes. Because they were friendly, we sold on credit. But, evidently not trusting our friends too much, sometimes we sold things that we were preparing to remove from our own arsenal. Although we could have traded in something new

without undermining our defense capability, for still more sophisticated models had already been created in design bureaus and plants.

But the West, and the Americans in particular, sold weapons chiefly for cash, at the same time offering things that they themselves frequently kept in their own arsenal. In this way they killed several birds with one stone: Military corporations and, thus, the country as a whole prospered, they got money to develop promising sectors, and at the same time they created a strong publicity base for their output and for the system as a whole. The most vivid example is provided by the war in the Persian Gulf, when U.S. Patriots downed Iraqi Scuds which had once been bought from us.

They endeavored to portray that war as a defeat for the Russian military-industrial complex. But then discoveries started to be made. First, the fact that Russia is able. And then how it is not allowed to use this ability.

The chief discoveries were made at the time of the arms exhibition in Abu Dhabi, to which Russia took for the first time a whole series of types of weapons which had not been demonstrated anywhere. Our press has written about some of them. I have seen a significant number of them on video cassettes and I have even examined some in perspn.

Yes, Russia has something to be proud of. Including Udmurtia—one of the mightiest forges of Russian weapons. What of the Patriots, over which people went into raptures during the "electronic" war! The antiaircraft missile complexes which we have created shoot down every missile, whereas the Patriot lets through some missiles. Or the widely publicized U.S. Stinger, which our aircraft and helicopters in Afghanistan found really hard to avoid? They did avoid it, however. But it is totally impossible for aircraft to avoid the Igla complex, which has been created at Izhevsk Machine Plant—the chief designer demonstrated it to us.

I have seen a movie about this weapon and watched firing by two self-propelled mobile complexes—Tor (Izhevsk Electromechanical Plant) and Tochka-V ("Votkinskiy Zavod" Production Association). The former is a very reliable weapon against aerial targets, and the latter against surface targets. I believe that it was not for nothing that the Votkinsk complex was called the Tochka ["spot"]. Firing at a distance of 45 km in Abu Dhabi (the test site did not permit more), the complex hit an empty fuel barrel with a missile. The accuracy is the same at the maximum firing range of 120 km.

This is far from everything that Russia makes "beyond the level of world standards." There is the Msta-S self-propelled artillery mount, which fires Krasnopol guided shells with a laser head—they are produced by the "Izhmash" Plant. We have still more sophisticated weapons, however—the Omelchak and Santimetr artillery complexes, which also fire shells with a laser head. Only they need less time to "locate" the target: just three seconds. They have also been declassified and are also ready to go on sale.

Today Russia can offer (without detriment to its own defense) approximately 1,600 aircraft, approximately 10,000 tanks, a large number of armored personnel carriers, air defense weapons, surface ships, and submarines. A while ago prices were roughly as follows: $20-25 million for one Russian MiG-29 fighter, and $18-40 million for a U.S. F/A; $1 million for a Russian T-72 tank, and $3 million for a U.S. M-1A Abrams. Air defense systems: $150 million for their Patriot, and $75 million for our SA-10.

If anyone thinks that the lower price—by two or three times—of our weapons is accounted for by the fact that they are worse, he is mistaken. A U.S. tank showed itself in far from the best light in Abu Dhabi. With regard to antimissile systems, the Americans themselves were forced to admit that we are ahead. Two factors account for the low price: the relatively low production costs and great need.

Even given these prices, however, Russia could earn many billions of dollars. For, according to the most modest estimates, Udmurtia alone is capable of selling weapons worth no less than $1 billion a year. Nevertheless, last year the entire country sold weapons on the world market worth just $1.9 billion, without managing even the lowered plans for $4 billion, while Udmurtia, with its huge potential ranging from missiles to pistols and the famous Kalashnikov assault rifles, did not make a single cent.

Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Is Pleased, Christopher Is Pleased....

What is up? Maybe the demand for weapons has fallen on the world market, and all countries, like Russia, are curtailing their trade? Nothing of the kind! At the same time as Russia's share of the world arms trade has fallen from 38 to 17 percent, the U.S. share has increased from 30 to 58 percent. Arms sales by certain other countries are also growing.

The weapons market is cramped, and in some places people are pushing us back, and in others simply roughly pushing us out, not hiding their scornful and arrogant attitude. While acknowledging that "arms deliveries from Russia have fallen colossally over the past year" and not denying our right to fight for sales markets, U.S. Secretary of State W. Christopher nonetheless remarked recently that the United States will object if Russia "attempts to sell its weapons to countries which we are concerned about—Iran, for example." Moreover, the United States will object to certain types of arms, even if we sell them to "responsible" countries. A real dialogue of "partners," if you like. Incidentally, the well-known case when the United States tried to ban Russia, as though it were its colony, from selling space rocket

equipment to India leaves us in no doubt that it will not treat us excessively considerately on the weapons market.

Russia has entered a period of market relations. But hardly anything has changed in the organization of the weapons trade. Rather, things have changed, only for the worse. We have seen how the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (as the former State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations is now called) worked under the leadership of P. Aven: Less than $2 billion was made—some 10 times less than the potential of the Russian military-industrial complex. Various reasons are given.

I believe, however, that one of the chief reasons is organizational. Economic conditions have changed abruptly, and life is obliging everyone, including enterprises in the military-industrial complex, to seek sales markets for their output. But the door through which they can emerge onto the foreign market remains the same! And how! Because of the steep increase in the number of people crowding into the reception room (previously they were not even admitted to it) the door has become narrow, like the notch on a rear sight, through which the bosses arrogantly assess whom to let in and whom to send away.

Everyone with whom I have spoken in Udmurtia's defense plants and in its government unequivocally rejects the present principle of trade in Russian weapons, which is not a market principle at all, whereby, as distinct from world practice, it is not the manufacturing firm which presents its output but someone with little interest in selling it. The chief thing for them—I was told by certain employees of subdepartments at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations—is to "shed the jess." That is, to go even on just a short mission abroad and not resolve the question as quickly as possible but to try to return there once again for the same reason.

Unfortunately, these are not empty words. We were shown two documents. The first was the reply from V. Shibayev, Russian deputy minister of foreign economic relations, to the "Izhmash" Plant, whose representatives had written to the ministry saying that it has not offered the enterprise a buyer for their military output since 1989. The reply reported that there are no buyers for "Izhmash" products. Next to it lay another document: an advertising prospectus for Chinese weapons. It showered praise on the Dragunov sniper rifle and emphasized, as a guarantee of reliability, that it is an exact copy of what is made in Russia. The prospectus pointed out that the Chinese copy of the Russian rifle was in demand.

"Not just the prospectus," A. Likhachev, deputy director for foreign economic ties, said. "We ourselves recently found a buyer for our Kalashnikov assault rifles. A specific firm... in let us call it Nagonia. The country is not on the list of prohibited countries, and all was in order with the buyer's license. But a telegram came from Moscow: You must not, for that country cannot pay. Maybe the country cannot pay, but we are dealing with the firm, which is ready to pay as it should."

Buyers themselves come to Izhevsk, find out telephone numbers, ring, and write in all languages. But the most powerful associations, the majority of which are somewhat more solid than many foreign corporations, do not have the right to go directly onto the world market. Foreign corporations have the right. All catalogues—I have seen for myself—contain the names of firms which produce weapons. True, there are also trading firms. It is only in our catalogues that there are just intermediaries of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. It is as though there are no producers of class weapons.

If only it were only this that gets in the way of Russian producers of competitive output. We were shown the customs documents which now have to be filled up. You have to show there not only the type of commodity—in this case, weapons—but also the price at which it is being sold. As far as is known, such a thing has never happened anywhere before or now. For the price is a commercial secret. What kind of secret will it be now, on crossing several borders?

Of course, trade in weapons is not trade in oranges. As various people, including directors of Udmurt plants, said, our internal instability puts potential buyers on their guard and introduces difficulties into the trade in weapons. But the quality and the prices overcome misgivings. Thus, the United Arab Emirates, on the point of reaching agreement with a U.S. corporation to buy 500 Bradley armored personnel carriers, changed its mind and bought Russian vehicles for one-third of the price. It was not we but the Arabs themselves who demonstrated the quality of these armored personnel carriers of the Kurgan association in Abu Dhabi.

This irritates foreign corporations, and the West's mighty military-industrial complexes are pressuring their governments, presidents, and prime ministers to take appropriate steps. They are doing so. Even including personal lobbying trips to those countries to which it is planned to sell weapons. Neither Mitterrand, nor Major, nor Bush sees this as anything but patriotic, for they realize that, by helping to sell weapons worth billions of dollars, they, as heads of state, are merely fulfilling their duty to the electorate, whose material well-being they promised to nurture. It is good that our vice president went to Malaysia to promote the sale of Russian aircraft. It is good that after B. Yeltsin's trip to India he "started to have doubts about the need to curtail military production facilities," so that "it is not necessary later to reinstate the plants of the military-industrial complex which have been reoriented to producing saucepans." It is only bad that these doubts were late in coming and, most importantly, that the people were not told who had pointed the head of the executive in this direction, what has been done to rectify the mistake, which is now visible to the naked eye, or what cardinal measures will be taken to ensure that, as one of the general directors in Udmurtia said, we "do not solicit credits but earn money for Russia by our output."

Constitution Issues

Filatov on Progress in Drafting Constitution

LD2206161593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—The Working Commission for Coordination of the Draft Constitution plans to finish its deliberations by Wednesday [23 June] and submit the document to constitutional conference sections for consideration, Head of the Russian President's Staff Sergey Filatov told a news conference here today.

Constitutional conference commissions are expected to discuss the coordinated draft fundamental law on June 24-25 to submit it to a plenary meeting on June 26 "for its approval and further adoption."

In Filatov's words, the coordinated draft constitution has changed in its structure but not in its concept. The first chapter was elaborated to dwell on fundamentals of the constitutional system and include "unshakable principles to serve as a basis for all other chapters of the constitution."

One third of the second chapter to focus on human rights and freedoms is provisions of the draft elaborated by the Russian Constitutional Commission. The third chapter is the federal treaty, although a considerable number of constitutional conference delegates proposed to "include" federal treaty provisions in various chapters of the fundamental law.

Asked why several amendments were not included in the summary draft constitution, Member of the Working Conciliatory Commission Aleksandr Yakovlev told ITAR-TASS "natural selection of proposals is underway" and added "democracy is nothing else but a procedure; thus, the constitution of public concord should express the will of the majority."

As for the most painful question on rights of federation subjects, Filatov read out the following coordinated wording: "Republics shall be sovereign states within the Russian Federation; territories and regions shall be territorial-state formations. All federation subjects shall enjoy equal rights in economic and political aspects, as well as in their relations with federal power bodies."

"If this wording is approved, chances to adopt the constitution will greatly increase," noted Sergey Filatov.

Party Heads on Constitutional Meeting, Elections

MK2206101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 27, 22 Jun 93 (signed to press 21 Jun) p 2

[Yelena Tregubova report on comments by political party leaders on the Constitutional Conference under the "Party Life" rubric: "Konstantin Borovoy Delighted at Constitutional Conference. Vasiliy Lipitskiy: As of Today, All the Work Has Made No Sense"]

[Text] Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the "Free Russia" People's Party: "As of today, it can be said that all the work done by the Constitutional Conference has made no sense. The deliberations in the sections lack clear-cut guidelines, their initiatives do not produce any output... And what next? Except for a general idea, I do not know anything yet about the constitutional conference that the Supreme Soviet is going to convene, so I do not know whether Civic Union is going to attend it. Civic Union is getting ready for elections (we would like them to be held as early as next fall, but apparently they will take place only in the spring), a "Coalition of Civic Forces" has been set up, and we expect, according to polls, to win around 42 percent of the votes. The communists will get between 10 and 15 percent."

Lev Ponomarev, cochairman of the Democratic Russia movement: "I take Civic Union's hopes to win a significant share of seats in the future parliament with a large amount of salt. Their split is evident: An immense number of regional organizations of the Democratic Party of Russia (Travkin's party) and the "Free Russia" People's Party (Rutskoy's) have already announced that they were willing to join our election coalition—the Reformist Forces Bloc. The same process is under way in the center.

Generally speaking, the Constitutional Conference is proceeding successfully. The fact that the president acted not very appropriately at the end, in a plenary meeting, is nothing but small ripples. The conference has a realistic chance of getting the congress to "bless" the already drafted provisional law on authority and the election code without any amendments. The elections are bound to take place in October or November."

The Russian Democratic Reform Movement [RDRM] did not join the Reformist Forces Bloc because—according to Gavriil Popov, its chairman, who called the coalition a "government" bloc—those who initiated its creation cannot even say what its platform will look like and when it will be made public. Popov emphasized that despite the presence of "respected people" in the bloc, the new organization's statements of intent alone are not enough for the RDRM, because "taking anybody at his word after all those Rutskoys and Khasbulatovs is impossible."

The RDRM, Popov said, decided to begin consultations with various political movements and parties for the purpose of working out a liberal election platform, which would "be oriented toward the course of reform started by the president, but at the same time would present an alternative to the current administration's platform."

Konstantin Borovoy, cochairman of the Economic Freedom Party: "I am delighted at the Constitutional Conference... It is so calm, so routine, so democratic! As for the two passages omitted by the president when

reading the declaration, the idea underlying these passages is, undoubtedly, a fine, really liberal idea. But, unfortunately, at present many people would be unable to comprehend it: the furthermost independence of the regions may be taken for the breakup of the country...

But if the two passages were there, I would say that the president has already secured the controlling block of the regional heads' signatures under his draft. I hope very much and I am almost sure that no sensible person at the Constitutional Conference will say the words "congress" or "Supreme Soviet" anymore starting 26 June... As for the upcoming elections in the fall, the Economic Freedom Party has joined no blocs, but argues for reaching a joint "interbloc agreement" between the liberals and the democrats, or an "agreement on strength," in which we would agree not to compete with each other, to cede votes, if necessary, or to withdraw candidates."

Aims of Constitutional Conference Viewed

PM2206105593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Doctor of Political Sciences Dmitriy Olshanskiy commentary: "'Smoking Break' Declared in the Kremlin. Constitutional Conference Will Continue Its Work 26 June"]

[Text] The disposition of forces just prior to the Constitutional Conference was not the best for the country. There was still confrontation at the highest levels. In one corner was the president, victorious in the referendum but bound hand and foot by people's deputies. In the other corner was parliament, the loser on points but not knocked out entirely, still representing the main legislative authority. A stalemate that threatened to drag on for another couple of years. A long blind alley.

What has the Constitutional Conference achieved? What plus points do we see?

The first plus: The constitutional process has gotten past first base. In the end we had to start somewhere. And although it would have been better to start at the bottom with the organization of real life and local self-government by citizens, everyone tackles those issues that are closest to him. In the new Russia, the issue of power is closest to the president and his team. They constitute it.

The second plus: A relatively workmanlike situation has been created. Consensus is beginning to emerge in the Kremlin among the conference participants. The conference is starting to resemble an all-national roundtable. The president sees it as the prototype of a new future parliament.

The third plus: It seems there is a likelihood of some sort of text emerging. In outline, it will give a new share of power to the president, rid him in future of a vice president and speaker, and give him control of the Central Bank and the Prosecutor's Office. It may calm passions somewhat and at least provide some clarification as to what sort of state we are living in, as well as indicating who should be doing what in this state. Let us clarify each other's rights and duties—at least in the form of a "protocol of intent."

But the main point—and is it not the only one?—is that the Constitutional Conference has become a way of routing the parliamentary opposition. Following a great deal of work, it has proved possible to isolate Khasbulatov. To such an extent that he promptly fell ill and then flew off to Turkey when he recovered. What else are you to do if you are the only person not to return to the Constitutional Conference after the uproar on the first day and all your former associates and comrades-in-arms are thronging the Kremlin and lining up behind the microphone in order to support Yeltsin?

These are the presidential team's tactical achievements at the conference. They are obvious. But this question is also obvious: These achievements may not head off the strategic problems that have arisen in connection with the conference.

First and foremost, time is running out. The atmosphere of "triumphant April" is evaporating, just as the atmosphere of "triumphant August" once melted away. The numerous economic, social, political, and other problems in our life are not being resolved. Hundreds of key people in the corridors of power have simply been inaccessible for two weeks now; they have no time for work; they are at the Constitutional Conference.

It is doubtful whether they will come up with any wonderful "improvements" to the draft they started with—"collective reason" is rarely more effective than a few professionals. It is more likely that the president will lose out in terms of the quality of the document for whose sake the whole event was organized in the first place. Concessions will have to be made.

While striving for unity, other people's interests must be taken into account. In one way or another, therefore, the conference is turning into an auction. As is the case with the republics, for example. And the aim of the presidential draft—to strengthen Russian statehood—is resulting in this statehood being parceled out into "regional apartments."

Ultimately, the most annoying thing of all is that the Constitution that has been hammered out will not last long: At the present time it is impossible to enshrine what is happening in Russia in constitutional form. After all, any attempt to stabilize the situation in this way indicates a desire to perpetuate the crisis and spin out the "transition period" and "temporary hardships" we are having to endure for the sake of yet another bright future.

The strategy could turn out to be more painful than the tactics. The conference is dragging on and deadlines that have been set by an edict from the president himself are

not being met. Which means either that the conference has not gone "according to plan," or else the presidential team simply does not know how it is supposed to end. There is no mechanism for making the switch from talk to action with regard to the five options for adopting a new Constitution—this has now been postponed until 26 June. It is hard to see this as a mark of strength and success.

...Recently I happened to have a chat with a figure very close to the president. He spoke about the tasks ahead, thinking about possible scenarios for the ongoing conference. I asked him: Before the referendum did Yeltsin's team really not have an advance plan of action in the event of victory, a scenario for acting on success? It was clear from the silence that followed that plans had been made, but for quite different, less rosy outcomes. That is why the president stayed silent for so long after the referendum. Having achieved victory, he turned out to be unprepared for it. Not for the first time, unfortunately.

Real reforms were and still are the main strategic problem: land, demonopolization, extensive privatization, improving the economic situation. Ultimately the real debureaucratization of life. But it seems that in the Kremlin they are still only deliberating about this.

'Common Sense' Returns in Constitution Issue

PM2206141993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 8

["Editorial Office Viewpoint": "New Constitution May Be Adopted at Congress"]

[Text] Having adopted a statement on the draft of the new fundamental law by 467 votes out of 594, the participants at the Constitutional Conference have rejected the rooted idea of a preordained and unresolvable struggle between Russian politicians and their fatal inability to agree. If in addition we recall the furor marking the opening of the conference which promised relentless confrontation, then the finale of its first act will seem unforeseeably mild. Meanwhile the disagreements, over principle moreover, remain. The relative unanimity at the 16 June plenary session was achieved only by removing two extremely important paragraphs from the statement. The first dealt with the formation of a federal assembly (parliament), the second with Russia's federal system.

Be that as it may, however, the political common sense which seemed to have deserted our politicians once and for all is starting to get the better of mindless confrontation. The intransigent struggle over the new Constitution, even if it has not lost its significance for some people, is no longer drawing new forces into its orbit.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov's commentary on the document that has been approved is instructive. "This statement," he said, "has not been adopted for internal use by the Constitutional Conference, we all know this, but specifically for consumption outside the Kremlin walls." It is not hard to guess that he is of course referring to the parliamentary deputies. In reply to the question of whether the adopted statement could exert any influence on the Supreme Soviet by disposing it to adopt a new election law as a matter of urgency, Ryabov answered that the chambers of parliament will probably show initiative in this matter. As far as the president is concerned, however, in his opinion a legislative act should be formulated by 26 June not just on parliamentary elections but also on the procedure for adopting a Constitution.

Thus the whole drift of the Constitutional Conference and its calm, businesslike atmosphere open up a prospect which only yesterday seemed absolutely unrealistic—the adoption of a fundamental law at the Congress. If the deputies have enough political common sense and if the road that has been traveled toward getting out of the crisis of statehood is assessed by them according to its merits, there is a chance that the constitutional marathon will be concluded lawfully. However, any attempts to parade ambitions all over again and continue the cold war against the executive branch could inevitably prompt the president to search for unlawful methods of adopting the fundamental law. And this would mean new confrontation, the scale of which could flow out of top-level offices in the capital into the expanse of the streets.

Adopting the Constitution at the Congress means averting pointless and all-destroying confrontation. Hostile maneuvering around the new fundamental law, however, only distances the horizons outlined in all its drafts.

Communist Faction Drafts 'Soviet Constitution'

LD2206195293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1805 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—A news conference of the Russian Communists' parliamentary faction informed correspondents of major theses of a "Soviet constitution" elaborated with active participation of faction members at the Russian House of Soviets today.

The "communist" draft constitution abandons the presidency, provides for the preservation and consolidation of the system of councils of people's deputies and declares social protection of the population.

An appeal "to Russian working people" signed by the authors of the draft "Soviet constitution" requests people's deputies and all those sharing the draft ideas "to convey to the electors the draft provisions, its distinguishing features in contrast to the two other constitutional drafts - the presidential and the one elaborated by the Constitutional Commission."

Russian People's Deputy Ivan Osadchi told the news conference "the draft Soviet constitution is a draft constitution of a state, which follows the path of socialist development and gives the working people—the absolute majority of Russian residents—broad social guarantees to enable their worthy life."

Political Issues

Rally Calls for Yeltsin's, Government's Resignation

LD2206210693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1830 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Several thousand supporters of the communist idea gathered today at the entrance to the Exhibition Center, the former Exhibition of National Economic Achievements, demanding the restoration of the former USSR and the resignation of the president and the Government of Russia. The rally was organized by the National Salvation Front, the Working Russia movement, the Russian Party, and a number of other communist and patriotic organizations.

Before the rally there was an antifascist march by the opposition from the Rizhskiy metro station to the Exhibition Center entrance. All along the way the demonstrators chanted: The president must resign.

Rallies of communist and patriotic orientation, irrespective of the date they are dedicated to, generally end in the same way—with a demand for the resignation of the president and the government and a change of the economic and political course. Today as well, the permanent leader of the Working Moscow movement, Viktor Ampilov, People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev, and Ilya Konstantinov, co-chairman of the National Salvation Front, after touching briefly on the theme of the Great Patriotic War from an improvised platform at the entrance to the Exhibition Center, devoted most of their speeches, without mincing their words, to criticizing the government's political and economic course. Speakers at the rally believe that the way out of the crisis lies in the restoration of the socialist economy and of the former Union.

Money was collected during the rally for the National Assembly [Vsenarodnoye Veche] and Ilya Konstantinov called on his supporters to prepare for battle.

Miners Picket, Demand Measures To Rescue Industry

Leader Urges Government To Listen

LD2106155593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By correspondent Konstantin Tochilin, including recording of interview with Russian Miners Union Chairman V.I. Budko; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Tochilin] This morning miners picketed in front of the Russian Government building.

[Budko] The miners have come today not for pay but so that the government will understand that unless the coal industry is financed now, Russian industry will simply stop functioning.

[Tochilin] One has to believe that the government realizes this anyway, but there is no money in the budget. That means there is no money for paying subsidies for the second quarter, no money for paying wages, and nothing with which to index delayed subsidies. The first round of talks took place today between representatives of Rostov mines and Vice Premiers Fedorov and Soskovets, though without any particular results.

[Budko] They assured us that they will solve our problems by 1 July. Today, the miners do not believe it. It is either the president or the prime minister who can be the guarantor of implementing our demands.

[Tochilin] All the pickets—the empowered representatives of 52 Rostov mines—are against a strike, but believe that in extreme circumstances they will have no alternative. However, they all hope that things will not go that far.

[Budko] Today it is Rostov and, let me tell you, tomorrow it will be the Kuzbass, representatives of the Kuzbass coming, and the day after tomorrow, it will be the representatives of the Urals who will be here, and we believe that the government should listen to us.

Demand To Meet Yeltsin

LD2206100393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0905 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS corespondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 22 Jun—"We are not demanding wage increases but measures to rescue the industry," and "A decent life for miners"— these are the slogans being used by 115 miners from Rostov Oblast during the second day of the picketing of the Russian Government building.

If the miners are not received by the president and head of the government today or tomorrow, then "Boris Yeltsin risks losing our support" and "in addition to economic demands we will put forward political demands", Vladimir Katalnikov, chairman of the Rostov territorial committee of the miners' trade union, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent. According to him, today, the miners of the Kuzbass and Urals will join the 115 Rostov miners who represent 52 mines. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Katalnikov said that the introduction of free prices for coal "will entail the closure of over half of Russia's mines." He spoke "categorically against" freeing coal prices since in conditions of a real threat of

mines being closed "there are no programs for social support or for the reconversion of coal regions."

At the same time, he stressed that the industry "will not die silently like the textile industry did, or the defense industry, and that miners will put up a fight." "We will organize acts of civil disobedience but we will not stop the mines operating since they are our livelihood," the leader of the Rostov miners' trade union said.

Further on Demands

PM2206153593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Rybakov report: "Picket on Old Square: Miners of 'Rostovugol' Association Have Met With Vice Premier of Russian Federation Government"]

[Text] "The late allocation of budget appropriations, chronic consumer arrears in payment for delivered coal, and lack of credit resources have put many mines on the brink of bankruptcy," stated miners from enterprises of the "Rostovugol" Association who have come to Moscow for talks with the government.

"We demand the immediate allocation of the full subsidies to coal sector enterprises for the second quarter and advance payment of the next subsidy," Aleksandr Bezuglov, mechanical engineer at the "Oktyabrskaya Revolutsiya" Mine, told us. "Moreover, it is essential that the delayed wage subsidies be indexed to the Russian Federation Central Bank discount rate and that a program for state support of the mining sector be drafted and passed."

The miners demand that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet ratify a realistic agreed budget through the end of 1993 and a statute creating an extrabudgetary fund made up of 3 percent of the gross product of other sectors. Miners also demand that those who do not meet their commitments under the sector tariff agreement be called to account.

The delegation of more than 100 formulated its demands at a meeting with Vice Premiers O. Soskovets and B. Fedorov and then mounted a picket on Old Square. The miners are unhappy at the way the government is carrying out the president's instructions on the results of his trip to Novokuznetsk. And if they are not heeded, they are ready to make political demands, up to and including the resignation of a number of ministers.

Miners To Meet Chernomyrdin

LD2306085893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0836 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—A meeting of miners protesting in Moscow with Deputy Prime Ministers Oleg Soskovets and Boris Fedorov on Tuesday [22 June] did not "yield the necessary results" and a meeting with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin was scheduled for Wednesday, according to Vitaliy Budko, the leader of the Russian trade union of coalminers.

The building of the Russian Government has been for the third day picketed by miners from major coal basins of Kuzbass, the Urals, the Rostov region who demand that the government observes the earlier signed tariff agreements.

Budko told TASS that the industry received in the second quarter of the year only one-third of the promised 400 billion roubles of state subsidies. The financial plight leaves the coal enterprises without the necessary equipment making the hard work of the miners mortally dangerous, he added.

On Wednesday Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a resolution establishing a fund of support to the coal industry which will be formed by introducing a special three per cent tax on all marketed goods and services.

Chernomyrdin Signs Resolution on Coal

LD2306102293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a Council of Ministers resolution today on emergency measures to ensure financial stabilization in the coal industry. To ensure stable operation of the industry, the government deems it expedient to set up, as of 1 July 1993, a fund for financial support of coal industry under the Russian Federation Finance Ministry. The money will be raised by introducing a special tax amounting to three percent of VAT [value added tax] on goods and services, on conditions and in the order provided for in the Russian Federation law on VAT.

The document signed by the prime minister on 20 June contains the instruction to work out within 10 days a draft law on a special tax in order to set up a financial support fund for coal industry enterprises, and to draw up regulations on the formation and use of this fund.

According to the resolution, the Fuel and Power Engineering Ministry, in conjunction with the Russian Federation coal company Rosugol, association of fuel enterprises Rortopprom, and heads of local administrations where coal enterprises are located, must present within three months a program to close mines with poor prospects; volumes of financing work to close the above must be also defined.

Another resolution signed by the government on 19 June says that, I quote, to ensure the healthy operation of coal enterprises and railways, coal enterprises are exempted, as of 1 April 1993, from paying to railways penalties of two percent of the total balance for each day payment is deferred, and railways are exempted from penalties of two percent of the outstanding balance for each day payment is deferred for used electricity and heat energy to their power suppliers.

Shakhray Urges Congress To Meet or Lose Compromise

MK2206095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 27, 22 Jun 93 (signed to press 21 Jun) p 2

[Dmitriy Volkov report under "Ultimatum" rubric: "Sergey Shakhray Needs Congress. Just Once, But as Soon as Possible"]

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray has told INTERFAX that the Congress of People's Deputies should get together to work out a draft new constitution "as a matter of necessity, before the second half of July." Otherwise, according to Shakhray, the possibility of reaching a compromise "would be lost, regardless of which decision the congress makes."

Apparently, the role of the congress should be limited to approving the draft constitution coordinated with the regions. The Constitutional Conference organizers must be hoping to turn the congress, notorious for its foot-dragging, into the kind of session like the latest plenary Constitutional Conference meeting that took up merely half an hour of the president's time.

Presumably this is the only way to make the congress pass the requisite decision. The longer the interval between now, when the situation is advantageous for Boris Yeltsin, and the congress convocation, the less likely it would be that the president's administration would retain control of the political situation. It is this that must have prompted the vice premier to state quite openly that if the congress is held later, its decisions will not be of any interest for the president's supporters, whoever they are.

It is not clear, though, just how advantageous the acceleration of the constitutional process appears to the regional leaders. According to Shakhray, as long as there is "a dual power situation or a vacuum of power" in Moscow, the threat of civil war, about which the vice president is warning, may prove to be less relevant for the regions than the benefits of confusion over subsidy distribution controls.

Part of the deputy corps leadership may be ready to collaborate with the Kremlin in working out a scenario for a "fast-track" congress session. However, only part of it. It would take the Yeltsin administration at least six months to move closer to fulfilling the dream of getting rid of the congress altogether. Whether one month would be enough to force it to get together for the last time is not clear. In any event many parliament members are quite consciously making preparations for their summer vacations—so that there is somewhere for them to return to.

Further Details of Zorkin Press Conference

PM2306083593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Olga Kondratyeva report: "Presidents Come and Go, But the Constitutional Court Remains"]

[Text] A meeting between members of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court and journalists has taken place. This is the first meeting of its kind and was prompted by the fact that this is the first time in the history of Russian statehood that such an institution has emerged.

The Russian Federation Constitutional Court, elected at the Fifth (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies 29 October 1991, operates under extreme strain. At present time the constitutional justices are studying over 200 petitions and individual complaints, and last year the court received over 17,000 appeals. The court acts on the basis of the law alone, and reproaches that it is politicized are unfounded—such was the unanimous view of the Constitutional Court justices attending the meeting. It is a different matter that the court has to evaluate political conflicts through the prism of the law—whether it is a question of a party's constitutionality, the president's powers, a dispute between the Federation and a component, and so on. Unfortunately, it was noted at the meeting, some mass media evaluate virtually every Constitutional Court decision from one viewpoint only: Who benefits from it—the president's team, or its opponents?

The Russian Constitutional Court is the most democratic in the world—it is enough for one people's deputy to appeal for the court to be obliged to examine the matter. Although, according to V. Zorkin, the main thrust of its work is the defense of citizens' constitutional rights.

Evaluating the work of the Constitutional Conference, V. Zorkin declared: "We took part in the conference with the aim of influencing the constitutional process, which is certainly not evidence that we are politically committed. Among other things, we prepared a package of comments on human rights. The presidential draft simply cuts Russians off from international standards in this sphere. I want to stress that the word 'conference' derives from the word 'confer.' It has no right to replace the highest organ of representative power. The Constitution can be adopted only by the Congress or the people themselves via a referendum. The conference is merely a preparatory stage on the road of constitutional lawmaking."

Asked by journalists about the likelihood of the Constitutional Court's being split by the executive branch, its chairman replied that the president recently expressed a wish to meet with the entire membership of the Constitutional Court.

Asked about the fact that the president has deprived him of his dacha and car, V. Zorkin refused to comment on this event, making just one remark: "I now realize the delights of walking." However, to a half-joking question on whether he intends to run in the presidential elections, V. Zorkin replied: "There is plenty to do—the formation of the Constitutional Court has still not been completed. Presidents come and go, but the Constitutional Court remains."

Yeltsin Seen Shifting Tactics to Split Opposition

MK2206090093 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11 18-25 Jun 93 (signed to press 10 Jun) p 2

[SIXTH-STORY news agency-signed report under the "From Unofficial Sources" rubric: "President Yeltsin's New Tactic"]

[Text] It seems that President Yeltsin's team has changed its tactics in the struggle against the opposition. Having suffered three consecutive defeats at the latest congresses, in which the opposition closed ranks against him, Yeltsin has proceeded with active steps aimed at splitting the opposition camp. Evident signs of this have been noticed in his separate talks with some members of the Constitutional Court and, later, with some members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. As a result of these meetings, internal tensions in these institutions have visibly heightened. To all appearances, Yeltsin has won the loyalty of Constitutional Court judges and Presidium members by promising them more important posts in the renewed structure of government authorities.

According to available information, during the Constitutional Conference Yeltsin has been conducting individual talks with the leaders of the Council of Heads of Republics within the Russian Federation. The latest meetings of the council prove that the presidents of former autonomies are not inclined to give unequivocal support to the presidential draft constitution. They will agree to initial it only if federal authorities make significant concessions. Trying to minimize these concessions, Yeltsin prefers to talk with each republican leader one-to-one. If Yeltsin succeeds in this effort, the Federation components at the next meeting of the Council of Heads of Republics in Petrozavodsk at the end of June will officially support not only Yeltsin's draft Constitution, but also, possibly, Yeltsin's methods of its adoption.

Republican Party Ready To Form Pre-Election Bloc

LD2206153093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1501 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—The Russian Republican Party believes early parliament elections are necessary and it is ready to join pre-election campaign, party leaders told a news conference here today.

The Republican Party plans consultations in the near future to form a new liberal pre-election bloc. Its possible allies can be the Party of Economic Freedom, the Party of Free Labor, the Union of Businessmen for New Russia and a number of other political organizations, party co-chairman Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy told the news conference.

"The bloc will aim to elaborate and implement a specific political-economic program, and not to promote this or that politician," stressed Shostakovskiy.

The Republican Party leaders think the bloc program should be based on a liberal way of development, state support and protection of private property and further increase of privatization.

Dwelling on the economic part of the future program, party co-chairman Igor Yakovenko said moderate taxes should be the major lever of a efficient influence on the economy. In this connection, the party suggests a 30 per cent decrease of taxes.

As for the constitutional conference, it should elaborate a single draft Russian constitution, he said.

'Sources' Say Reductions in Ministerial Apparatus Slated

MK2206125093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Number of Ministries To Be Sharply Cut Down"]

[Text] Recently Premier Chernomyrdin ordered the creation of an interdepartmental commission to reorganize the federal executive bodies. As MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned from reliable sources, its main task will most likely be preparation of proposals on reducing the apparatus of ministries and departments as well as abolishing a number of structures. In particular, slated for liquidation apparently are the Russian State Committee for Prices (Roskomtsen), the Russian State Committee for Information (Roskominform), the Federal Service on the Property of the Western Army Group, the Committee on Municipal Economy, and a number of others.

Minister Admits Corruption Exists in Mass Media

MK2206100093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 2

[POSTFACTUM-signed report under the "Press" rubric: "Mikhail Fedotov on Corruption in Mass Media"]

[Text] Speaking on 20 June to participants in the international colloquium, "Conditions of Economic and Political Independence of the Mass Media," Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov said that corruption in the mass media was a result of low incomes of

those working in this sphere. This is why representatives of commercial structures are able to bribe journalists into publishing hidden advertisements passed off as newspaper reports. According to Mikhail Fedotov, at present not only journalists, but entire newspapers are being "bought." He cited the following example: If the average monthly salary of a television journalist is $22, the salary of a journalist engaging in hidden advertising would increase to $5,000.

Yeltsin Decrees 22 Jun 'Defenders of the Fatherland Day'

LD2106190193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Excerpt] By President Yeltsin's decree, 22 June has been proclaimed Defenders of the Fatherland Day. Over to Anton Grishin:

[Grishin] The 52d anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War is 22 June 1993. Not many of those who fought for the motherland have survived till our time. Not everyone witnessed that war. [passage omitted]

Leaders Lay Wreathes, Comment on Constitution

LD2206123493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier were laid today by the Russian Government and Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration. Following the solemn ceremony, Filatov told journalists that what society needs most of all now is political stability and an absence of fear of the future, and Sergey Filatov believes this can only be ensured by a new constitution.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev laid wreaths today not with the government but with the General Staff. Among the generals currently working, there are probably none left who took part in the Great Patriotic War—but this war touched everyone.

Vice President Rutskoy, Constitutional Court Chairman Zorkin, and Russian Supreme Soviet Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov came to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier together. At the end of the ceremony, Khasbulatov, like the head of the presidential administration, spoke about the [proposed] constitution. He believes it is simply impossible to adopt it in its present form.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Calls For Expansion of Private Enterprise

LD2306074393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0714 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin called on Wednesday [22 June] to promote the creation of the third estate in the country which will be the basis of economic reform.

"Small and medium-scale entrepreneurship is an integral part of a market economy. Its development allows to carry out a radical turn of economy towards the demands of the people and create a reliable social base for reforms—a mass stratum of private owners and businessmen", Yeltsin said on Wednesday in a greeting to the participants of the second international congress "Small and Medium-Scale Entrepreneurship in Russia.

The president admitted that private enterprise is still developing in the country "at an extremely low rate and with big difficulties" and that acting legislation does not sufficiently stimulate its development while the economic situation does not render the necessary support for the creation of private ventures in production and services.

Yeltsin said that the right to a free entrepreneurship should be fixed in a new constitution.

He told private businessmen that the Russian government has determined the development of entrepreneurship as a major direction of economic reform. A fund is being created to support private enterprise and competition. A council on support to entrepreneurship has been set up at the Russian government. However, Yeltsin believes these measures are not sufficient.

Interior Ministry Briefing on Economic Crimes

LD2206192593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1718 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Yuriy Shcherban]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—All Russian property will be pillaged by the time the Ministry of Justice elaborates and the parliament adopts new criminal and criminal proceedings codes, deputy head of the Investigation Committee and head of the Russian Interior Ministry's department to investigate into organized crime and corruption Major-General Valeriy Nikolayev told a briefing on economic crimes here today.

In the words of first deputy head of the Russian Interior Ministry's main department against economic crimes Major-General Mikhail Serdyuk, Interior Ministry staffers revealed 2,590 economic crimes over five months of 1993 alone, which is much more than over the same period of last year.

Besides, 1,037 persons, who combine state office with business activities, have been identified, about 2,300 facts of bribe-taking and other criminal actions have been revealed.

Vice Premier Announces Plan To Cut Grain Imports

LD2206083593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha says that this and next year Russia will slash its grain imports. The vice premier has told newsmen the money released as a result of the slash would be used to boost Russia's own grain production. [passage omitted]

Law on Grain Criticized as Inflationary

PM2106163793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Andrey Sizov of AGROKHLEBBYULLETEN: "Russian Law on Grain Boosts Inflation"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has adopted a law "On Grain." It has been published and has entered into force.

Essentially this law says that the state assumes commitments to provide extensive support for grain producers: A considerable proportion of their costs will be borne by the state budget. The figures for compensation are as follows: One-third of the cost of producing a tonne of grain and 50 percent of the cost of producing environmentally clean grain and seed sold to federal and regional stocks; 50 percent of the cost of purchasing grain combines; and 50 percent of the cost of the construction and modernization of material and technical facilities for the drying, processing, and storage of grain, and so forth.

The minimum level of state purchase prices is set in the light of world market prices.

All these measures are aimed primarily at increasing the dependence of grain producers on state financing. In this way the state intends to boost its purchases of grain and create the conditions to reduce dependence on imported grain. However, the implementation of the law "On Grain" could have a number of adverse consequences for agriculture and the economy as a whole.

In the first place this law obviously conflicts with the government's measures in the fight against inflation. The full burden of compensation for costs and the production and purchase of agricultural equipment will be borne by the state budget. If you consider the volumes of state purchases in recent years and the prime cost of grain production, reimbursing one-third of producers' production costs will run to around 500 billion at current prices. This will lead to a further increase in the budget deficit, which is already one of the main causes of the high rate of inflation.

Second, the system of compensating production costs that is being introduced will serve to artificially stoke grain producers' effective demand for the means of production, especially for grain harvesting equipment. However, in the conditions of a highly monopolized economy this will primarily stimulate increased prices rather than increase the supply and improve the quality of the means of production produced for agriculture.

In addition, compensating a considerable proportion of grain producers' production costs will radically alter the structure of prices for agricultural output and the profitability ratio between grain and other agricultural products. Last year, with a comparatively high level of profitability on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, averaging 42 percent, grain production profitability (calculated as a ratio of sales revenue to prime cost) was approximately 50 percent higher than for production of other agricultural crops and 100-200 percent higher than in livestock raising. With the adoption of the law the price disproportions in the agrarian sector will shift even further in favor of grain production, which will encourage the expansion of the area sown to grain in regions ill-suited to grain cultivation. As a result the efficiency of agricultural production as a whole will decline and the production of a number of other types of agricultural output could become unprofitable.

There is another problem—the procedure for coordinating the volume of import purchases with the Supreme Soviet could become quite protracted. This will limit the ability to use seasonal variations in world prices to reduce import costs.

In addition, the large-scale subsidizing of grain producers in accordance with this law will deter the World Bank from allocating resources for assisting the structural transformations in Russian agriculture. In this case we are talking about a $500 million loan, which is entirely comparable with the scale of subsidies to grain producers allocated to compensate for costs.

'Declaration of National Economic Accord' Elaborated

PM2206083793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by "roundtable" coordinator Professor Anatoliy Milyukov: "Declaration of National Accord"]

[Text] Back at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies a proposal that a "roundtable" begin work on problems of the economic reform was approved. This was no chance occurrence: There is still no integrated program to implement it. People are tired of endless arguments and promises. The "roundtable" began to be formed at the beginning of this year. The principle behind its formation was an unusual one: Representatives of leading parties and movements, members of parliament and the government, scientists, specialists, and entrepreneurs were invited—in all there were about

80 participants. The participants themselves adopted a decision about additional participants.

In the last six months six sessions have taken place, usually at the "President Hotel." At the beginning there was much talking for talking's sake and general discussion. This was frightening, but we had to muster our patience and move step by step toward specifics. Today this goal is near. After a period of searching and discussion a version of a Declaration of National Economic Accord has been produced. This is a short document, just 12 typewritten pages in length. But it covers big, global tasks.

The first half of the document establishes the specific features and goals in carrying out the economic reform in Russia, and describes the society which we are building and the methods of proceeding toward it. Next it sets out what is most important—effective implementation of the reforms is only possible if work is coordinated. To this end the focal problems on which such accord should be achieved are defined. These are ways of overcoming inflation and the fall in production, regional and budgetary policy, currency and structural policy, and living standards. An answer to the question of who should sign these agreements has also been found. In formulating their contents, the "roundtable" participants are not trying to cover absolutely all the problems and are limiting themselves only to the most important and fundamental matters.

At the "roundtable's" last session, which took place 9 June, the draft declaration received general approval. It was recommended that the contents of a number of sections be made more precise and that it should then begin to be signed. Now a working group is ensconced in a small room in the "President Hotel" and has effectively begun the process of getting the document signed. As a result it is envisaged that leaders of the state, parliament, government, the Central Bank, and the trade unions will sign the declaration.

It is difficult to overestimate this document's significance. It may become the starting point, a sort of springboard, from which we can get the economic reform moving in a coordinated and assured manner.

Ruble's Rise Against Dollar Seen as 'Temporary'

MK2206140093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 27, 22 Jun 93 (signed to press 21 Jun) p 1

[Rustam Narzikulov report under the "Money" rubric: "The Ruble Begins Recovering. However, the Reserve of Monetary Medicines is Extremely Limited"]

[Text] The dollar's exchange rate stopped rising on 10 June and keeps fluctuating around the 1,100 rubles mark. During this time, it was only once—on 15 June—that the trend of its slow slide down was reversed. On that day the dollar rose from 1,098 to 1,116 rubles only to resume its fall at the next trading session of the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange. The rate of the downturn is still insignificant and stays within a range between 0.4 and 1.4 percent. The momentum of the dollar's descent does not give any reasons to speak about the strengthening of the ruble even in the formal, statistical sense. If there is anything surprising in the behavior of the exchange rate it is not the dollar's "nosedive," but the letup in the ruble's depreciation. Moreover, even top officials of the Central Bank, who should be according to their positions interested in boosting universal currency optimism, do not deny that this is not the stabilization of the Russian currency unit, but precisely a temporary letup caused by a simultaneous strengthening of a number of "pro-ruble" factors.

In an interview for SEGODNYA, Central Bank Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Khandruyev said that a certain increase in the ruble's exchange rate was caused "by a combination of a number of political and economic factors." Among the political factors he mentioned a relative stability in society after the April referendum. As for economic factors, Aleksandr Khandruyev pointed to a relative decrease in the money supply, which resulted from the obligation to reduce the offer of cash, assumed by the Central Bank in May; from the tightening of import tariffs, which lowered the efficiency of imports; and also the Central Bank's departure from the practice of currency interventions aimed at temporarily maintaining the ruble's artificially overvalued exchange rate. Aleksandr Khandruyev categorically denied claims that the Central Bank was allegedly carrying out massive currency interventions for reasons of expediency.

An analysis of the exchange rate fluctuations in May and at the beginning of June also argues for a reserved attitude to the exchange rate trends in the second 10 days of June. In May, for the first time since the beginning of the year, the ruble slipped faster than prices were growing. This is a natural phenomenon because exchange rate trends and the inflation rate must basically go hand in hand. But in certain times, these two indicators may deviate from each other, which is precisely what happened in the first four months of this year when the pace of inflation was somewhat in excess of the dollar's exchange rate. The May currency trading sessions, which helped speed up the ruble's slump, offset this deviation.

Theoretically, in June the exchange rate curve should look smoother than it was in May. However, a new factor was added to affect the currency auction mechanism, namely, the change of the trading sessions' schedule—they are now held four times a week. The authorized banks proved unable to assess their hard currency requirements given that now the dollar was quoted more often, and as a consequence the dollar was now even more outpacing the rate of inflation. It was only on 10 June that the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange reacted to the imbalance between price fluctuations and the dollar's exchange rate by holding up the latter's growth.

And then, the "combination of political and economic factors," cited by Mr. Aleksandr Khandruyev, came into play. How long it is going to "hold up" the market will depend on how firm is the government's and the Central Bank's desire to take steps to rein in inflation.

Statistics Show $7 Billion Trade Surplus, Imports Halved

MK2206141093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 27, 22 Jun 93 (signed to press 21 Jun 93) p 3

[ADS-signed report under the "Trade" rubric: "Russian Imports Halved. Export Stabilized Thanks to Oil, Aluminum Deliveries"]

[Text] According to the latest reports by the State Statistical Committee, in January-May 1993 Russia's foreign trade turnover was $21.4 billion, down by 23.7 percent against the same period last year. The trade surplus reached $7 billion (5.3 billion in January-April). Trade turnover with the industrialized countries was $13 billion (-24.3 percent), with the developing countries $3.0 billion (-17.6 percent), and with the former Comecon countries $3.8 billion (-29.7 percent). In January-May, Russia exported $14.4 billion worth of goods ($10.6 billion in January-April), up 3.2 percent against the same period last year.

Vladimir Kiselev, deputy chief of the Russian Foreign Economic Relations Ministry's economic administration, said that, compared with last year's figures, the deliveries of oil, coal, phosphate fertilizers, timber, ferroalloys, aluminum, and engineering goods were up this year. The export of other traditional goods, however, such as nitrogen and potash fertilizers, pig iron, and cotton textiles, decreased significantly. Energy resources accounted for 56 percent of the total volume of Russia's export for that period, whereas in previous years their share never exceeded 40 percent. The share in the total amount of engineering and technical products' exports was 9.3 percent in January-May 1993, somewhat up against last year's figure of 8.4 percent. By the beginning of June the situation with exports has reached relative stability. If in January-February the volume of exports fell against the same period last year, in March-May it was already in excess of last year's figures.

The volume of Russia's imports in January-May 1993 was $7.0 billion ($5.3 billion in January-April), down by 50 percent against the same period last year. Imports that were drastically reduced include meat, vegetable oil, tee, coffee, clothing, footwear, medicines, and a number of other goods.

Russian Federation export in January-May 1993 (according to the latest reports by the Russian Federation State Statistical Committee

Name of good	Unit of measurement	January-May 1993		Percentage in 1993 against 1992	
		Quantity	Value ($bn)	Quantity	Value ($bn)
Export—total			14,421.5		103.2
Iron ores and concentrates	thousand tonnes	1,584.3	45.2	97.1	125.8
Bituminous coal	thousand tonnes	7,463.9	261.2	113.1	100.5
Crude oil	thousand tonnes	31,870.8	3,536.4	129.0	112.7
Oil products	thousand tonnes	9,807.2	1,218.1	109.4	86.5
Natural gas	million cubic meters	39,428.0	3,076.3	106.2	100.2
Machines, equipment transport facilities	$ million		1,340.9		113.8

Russian Federation import in January-May 1993 (according to the latest reports by the Russian Federation State Statistical Committee

Name of good	Unit of measurement	January-May 1993		Percentage in 1993 against 1992	
		Quantity	Value ($bn)	Quantity	Value ($bn)
Import—total		6,998.8		49.7	
Quick-frozen meat	thousand tonnes	30.3	43.4	25.7	30.9
Cereals	thousand tonnes	6,194.9	917.8	50.0	52.3
Sugar	thousand tonnes	1,267.4	390.4	79.4	83.0
Medicines	$ million		127.1		19.0

Supreme Soviet

Nationalities Chief Views Current Issues

LD2206230493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, by reporter Yelena Ozrina, in Moscow on 22 June; from the "At the Russian Supreme Soviet" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ozrina] We have asked Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, about the Russian nationalities policy, its problems, how they are being resolved and how the nationalities policy is being resolved in the draft of the new constitution. The floor is given to the chairman of the chamber.

[Abdulatipov] As a matter of fact I advocated the idea that at the present stage a single constitution draft should be prepared with the participation of various social forces, because since the first congress—when the Constitutional Commission was set up—the situation in Russia has indeed changed in many respects. There is no longer a Soviet Union. There are completely independent states. At the time we did not have so many parties and movements as we do now. There were thousands of things which should have been taken into account, and I directly participated in the draft which is known as Ryabov's draft. Moreover, it seemed to me that if we had joined the process in good time we could have dealt with many problems, such as the regulations and work of the constitutional conference and, let's put it this way, parliament's supervision.

At the same time, the most difficult issue in the constitutional process—before and during the conference and it will remain after it—is to find the place for the nationalities of Russia in this political, economic, and cultural space. All this should be recorded in some way or another in the constitution itself. In this connection, I will put it this way, a rather uncomfortable situation has arisen for calmly taking these factors into account. We could see in Estonia and Latvia where the enormous Russian population, the Russian nation, were in fact put in the position of second-class citizens. And there is a similar situation with the survival of Russians and their immigration in some regions of the Russian Federation itself. People are afraid of what will come tomorrow and because of this they leave.

In the present history, the history of the democratic development of Russia itself, the nationalities issue is unfortunately regarded as a negative issue. In fact this issue is positive because there are no peoples who do not have their unique specific culture, language, and traditions. The wealth of human society consists of the wealth of the peoples and individuals who comprise these peoples.

This brings me to a second level which in fact is not being worked on in Russia, either in practice or in theory, but is simply automatically taken from the West. This is the position in the West: There are the rights of the individual, and all other rights are defined by the rights of that individual. This is the so-called atomistic theory, which developed over there from the 18th or 19th century onwards.

On the other hand, in Russia, which is a collective society with a social conscience, the individual is not yet such an independent phenomenon—perhaps unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately. The individual in Russia has not lost his ties with the sources of his social culture and psychology. These are things we always boast of when we are abroad. Even those who leave Russia for decades are always saying they miss this Russian environment. That is our peculiarity. Today questions are in fact raised in both the Constitutional Commission's version—the Rumyantsev version, as it is called—and in the presidential version, which I call the new presidential version, because the president was chairman there as well. Neither version takes these aspects into account. They take account of the rights of the individual, but not the rights of the individual as a part of another society. That is, they do not take account of collective human rights.

[Ozrina] In connection with that a certain question which has emerged is probably lawful. The republics, krays and oblasts, or rather the krays, oblasts and autonomous okrugs have demanded equal rights with the republics included within Russia. How do you assess this, as a move of self-awareness or simply a desire to elevate their own status?

[Abdulatipov] But this will not be so much as a step toward the peoples' self-realization, but toward self-realization of the bureaucracy. Which, maybe, is also important. But bureaucracy differs from the people in one thing: People, when they affirm their self-realization, they assume responsibility—and I mean this in the best possible meaning of the word. Bureaucracy always demands more powers while at the same time doing its best to get by with a minimum of responsibility.

In this respect the Federation Treaty which we concluded—in fact, this treaty has prevented the disintegration that was the fate of the Soviet Union. If we are to view Russia as a union, it would be logical to assume that Russia was going through the same desintegration process already. Because disintegration of the USSR meant disintegration of Russia. However, this time we have succeeded.

I was the head of a working group. You should understand this well—you visit the parliament very often and study these problems closely with us and, perhaps, you remember that I was dismissed from my job, accused of many things, all because of the federation treaty. Nevertheless, the federation treaty has turned out to be the only document of accord in the whole seven years of our

perestroyka development. I am not saying that this is a sort of document which would guarantee something for the whole century ahead. But in terms of implementation of this treaty, there will be enough work for all of us for the next five or 10 years.

[Ozrina] You are head of the Soviet of Nationalities in the Supreme Soviet. As you have rightly noticed, I attend the sessions of the Supreme Soviet very often, and I very often hear about the problems which the republics within Russia address to you. And so, my question is—the Supreme Soviet and the national problems.

[Abdulatipov] You know, the Soviet of Nationalities was created at the time of the old society ...

[Ozrina, interrupting] We had that society not so very long ago, just four years ago.

[Abdulatipov] Yes, the political system was different. It was like this—they showed us some respect by setting up the Soviet of Nationalities, by naming it such. But in essence, the question was dealt with beforehand, there were supposed to be no problems—such was the approach, more or less. So just look and see what a burden there is. On the one hand, our chamber, the Soviet of Nationalities examines, on an equitable basis of parity, all the problems that are discussed in the Soviet of the Republic. And additionally we are obliged to pose the most painful national problems. In other words, we are, in effect, carrying a double burden.

What is more, the proportion of deputies who want to take part in this thankless task is just a handful. There is even a whole bunch of deputies who, instead of helping, do, on the contrary, hinder and create some kind of nationalist organizations there, in their own regions, and so on. There are also factors of that sort. And there are, at the most, 20-25 enthusiasts who are dealing directly with those problems from among the corps of deputies.

[Ozrina] In general, do you think the Supreme Soviet can, and has the right to, intervene in the resolution of ethnic conflict? I would then say the question is about the Supreme Soviet and national conflict, since, at the last sitting, for instance, a very difficult, very burning issue was discussed—the question of relations between the Ossetians and Ingush.

[Abdulatipov] You understand, in the first place, I will continue my thoughts. I am aware, of course, that we do not have much time and, at the same time, that the Soviet of Nationalities does not today have the right to decide independently on even its own questions. Since 1990, we have been unable to properly adopt a law on small peoples. Every time, the other chamber or their own people turn it down because sometimes there is no understanding of the nationalities issue.

And the second aspect: The possibilities of the Supreme Soviet in that respect are, after all, limited. What can we do? We can do more work on the law. But what the law will be like does not always depend on us because there are various forces fighting. Over the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples, let's say, some were in favor of getting it adopted, and, if it is not adopted, we are almost threatened with dissolution. Others say that, if it is adopted, we will disperse you.

At the same time, you were probably aware that, while working on that problem, let's say, accusations were flying around. On the one hand, my Ingush brothers often accuse me of virtually betraying everything, alleging that I am preventing the law from being implemented. On the other hand, representatives, and even the leadership, of the Republic of North Ossetia level the accusation that I am the main opponent. In other words, the problem, specifically, is that Abdulatipov is the main initiator of rehabilitation and all that. In other words, the question, I emphasize once more, is very... [pauses], I understand people. Some have suffered for 50 years, others 40, while the tragedy has only recently struck others. They have an enormous emotional burden. Yet I would think that the Soviet of Nationalities must have wider powers, since, we have nothing, after all, apart from adopting a law, decision, or instruction to the government and checking that this instruction is carried out.

[Ozrina] Who has it? And to what extent does the center have a right to interfere in these problems and give advice?

[Abdulatipov] The approach should be as follows—that is the approach that we have found very recently, owing, to a large extent, to the federation treaty—our approach is that the federal government and the federal parliament must interfere by all means if ethnic rights, human rights and other constitutional norms enshrined in Russian legislation are being encroached upon. But at the same time the main approach should be based on common interests, it ought to facilitate the coordination of interests.

Our favorite NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA—I respect this newspaper, it differs from various tabloids, as you can see I have a cutting from today's edition which says that North Ossetian rallies started because Abdulatipov stated that the refugees must return to the areas where they were settled in large numbers. But this is not Abdulatipov's position. This stand was agreed on during the Kislovodsk talks. This is the position of the whole parliament. This is the stance of the Russian president. This is the stance of the government. And all of a sudden... [pauses], and if people in North Ossetia are against it, then they say: Look what Abdulatipov is up to. So proceeding from one and the only standpoint, allegedly submitted by Abdulatipov, Abdulatipov is declared the enemy of...

[Ozrina] The Ossetian people.

[Abdulatipov] ...of the Ossetian people.

Regional Affairs

Further on Yeltsin Visit to Yakutia

PM2206135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 2

[Sergey Ovsiyenko report: "Yakutia: President's Outpost in the East of Russia"]

[Text] During the referendum the population of Yakutia demonstrated its loyalty to the policy pursued by Boris Yeltsin—the president received unconditional support on 25 April. At the same time the people of Yakutia made unambiguously clear that they mistrust the body of deputies.

Boris Nikolayevich did not seek to link this present visit (and it is the second in a short space of time) to politics. It is the kind of republic which it is a must for him to visit, the president stressed. Yakutia possesses natural wealth which it is difficult to evaluate.

Conversations in the corridors of Government House revealed several of the most acute economic problems suffered by the republic. Aleksandr Matveyev, deputy chairman of the republic government, clearly delineated them: They are, for example, the navigation season. If, for example, freight is not delivered to the northern rayons of Yakutia by August, it is lost to the republic's economy for six months. Boris Yeltsin promised to discuss this problem in Moscow.

Another deputy head of the republic government, Yegor Yegorov, noted that socioeconomic development programs for Yakutia, including those relating to the environment, the construction of the Amur-Yakutsk Main Railroad, and the demarcation of federal and regional property, had been prepared for the Russian president's current visit.

It became clear from discussions in Government House that Russia and Yakutia are serious in their intention to end the monopoly of the South African company De Beers. In tandem with the federal authorities Yakutia has set up a company which is now a rival to De Beers in the diamond extraction and, most importantly, the diamond processing market. The republic receives 20 percent of the diamonds as its own property, which makes it possible to ensure an inflow of hard currency to Yakutia.

But there was no escaping politics and discussion of the progress of the Constitutional Congress. Yakutia advocates a constitution incorporating all the best elements of the currently submitted drafts. The policy of certain Russian autonomous formations does not generate particular enthusiasm in the Yakutia leadership. Tatarstan is not an example for it to follow, Yakutia is prepared to content itself with economic autonomy, upholding its sovereignty exclusively within Russia.

Yakut President Mikhail Nikolayev himself advocates a normal constitutional process and professional work at the Constitutional Conference, which clearly should serve to safeguard against all political upheavals.

...On the national holiday—and Boris Yeltsin was guest of Tattinskiy Rayon—the Russian president presented five Yakutia cultural workers with titles of distinction in their field.

Bidding farewell to the hospitable republic at Yakutsk Airport, Boris Yeltsin said that Sakha was "a unique republic in terms of the talent of its people and its wealth and territory." "It has," the president said, "a fine future. But it needs to be helped. And I indeed flew here in order to examine carefully its current problems with the republic leadership."

Paper Reports on Visit

PM2206151193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Vyacheslav Stepanov report under "Visit" rubric: "No Getting Away From Politics"]

[Text] Yakutsk—Inhabitants of Yakutsk know: If the city is being quickly spruced up, if holes in the road are being filled in, and if dilapidated houses are being concealed behind fences, it must mean that a VIP guest is on the way. On this occasion the situation was complicated somewhat by the fact that part of a downtown residential block had crumbled. This had long been imminent—indeed, the residents had been evacuated. But who could have known that the accident would happen literally on the eve of the Russian president's visit! There was not time either to demolish it and raze it to the ground, or to conceal it with a fence or panel. So the proprietors gave the whole thing up as a bad job—it will just have to do.

So that is what happened. This is the last thing people worry about when their heads are full of concerns over the great Russian home. What is more, B. Yeltsin came to the Republic of Sakha for the weekend, so to speak—to get to know the culture and the traditions of the northern kray. Indeed, the president announced this to journalists at the aircraft steps, when he was asked: Is this visit linked with the progress of the Constitutional Conference? Not at all, he replied. And he asked that there be no more talk of politics.

Nevertheless, correspondents managed to bring the eminent guest back to the central theme of Russian existence—preparing the draft Fundamental Law. Yeltsin declared that the appropriate professional work is under way, the result of which is expected to be a modified version which satisfies the most stringent requirements.

The Russian president arrived in Yakutsk toward the evening of Friday, 18 June. Early Saturday morning he visited the "Zoloto Yakutii" Joint-Stock Company Jewelry Plant. After displaying a magnificent array of gold and silver items, rough and polished diamonds, the

proprietors intimated to Yeltsin that the republic has left behind it the status of a raw material appendage to the center.

Here the question of the interrelationship of the components and the Federation involuntarily arises—a question which, as of today, has yet to be set aside for good, and without which it is truly difficult to implement sovereignty. Try as you might, you cannot get by without serious conversation, even on a friendly trip. Immediately after the visit to the plant, a meeting was scheduled with the leadership of the Republic of Sakha. Journalists had hoped to get their main material here. But the press was asked, politely, to leave the hall.

Yeltsin was met and accompanied by the ovations and enthusiastic chanting which are already somewhat hazy. The president's rating is very high in the Republic of Sakha. It was established during the December days of 1990 when Yeltsin categorically welcomed the adoption by the northern kray of the status of a sovereign state.

Further on Chernomyrdin Visit to Tatarstan

Visits Aircraft Building Association

LD2206125193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Today Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Government, continues his working trip around the Republic of Tatarstan. He acquainted himself with the progress of the enterprise's preparations for producing river- and sea-going tankers at the Zelenodolsk shipyards. The Russian prime minister also visited the Kazan aircraft building industrial association. The purpose of his visit is to study issues relating to the production of TU-204 aviation liners. In the afternoon Viktor Chernomyrdin will hold a conference with the leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Signs Three Agreements

LD2206191993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1715 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Kazan June 22 TASS—A working Tatarstan visit of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin resulted today in signing of three governmental agreements.

An agreement on property divides property on Tatarstan territory into federal, joint and republican.

An agreement on customs service provides for the functioning of the Russian single system of tariffs and dues on Tatarstan territory.

An agreement on the military-industrial complex was signed as well.

More on Property Agreement

LD2306090293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0834 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan June 23 TASS—Russia and Tatarstan agreed to share property and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a corresponding agreement during his two-day trip to Tatarstan.

According to the agreement, part of the former Soviet property on its territory goes completely to Tatarstan, another part remains under the joint jurisdiction of Tatarstan and Russia while the third part, "burdensome" to the republic, went to the federal authorities.

The agreement also envisages that the Kazan branch of the Moscow customs office becomes an independent customs service of Tatarstan.

Other two agreements signed by Chernomyrdin during his visit share the duties of Russia and Tatarstan regarding the defence industry which is now granted the right to export its products.

Seven out of twelve planned agreements have been so far signed between Russia and Tatarstan and Chernomyrdin said that a bilateral treaty between the federation and its republic may be expected next month.

Tatarstan proclaimed sovereignty and said it will develop its relations with Russia by bilateral agreements and remain within the federation.

"Currently a new model of the Russian structure is being worked out. It is no longer possible to govern the country in the old way, by orders from Moscow. The rights and obligations are being shared by the federation and regions. Former command and administrative relations are being replaced by normal civilised ties. Tatarstan is an example of it", Chernomyrdin said adding that the democratic principles are being fixed in the new Russian Constitution.

Tatarstan Seeks To Specify Relations With Russia

LD2206192993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1720 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Kazan June 22 TASS—Tatarstan will work to achieve the inclusion in the draft new Russian constitution of a provision on constitutional-agreement character of its relations with the federal center, Tatarstan Prime Minister Mukhammat Sabirov told a news conference here today.

In his words, this can be done in the form of a special note in the list of federation subjects. "We do not ask for more. But we will work to achieve it," said Sabirov.

Statement Issued on Ossetian, Ingush Situation

MK2206093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 1

[Natalya Pachegina report: "State Committee for Affairs of the Federation and the Nationalities Warns: Bloodshed Is Possible. They Know Nothing About it in the Zone of the Ossetian-Ingush Conflict"]

[Text] On 19 June the State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and the Nationalities made a statement voicing concern over a sharp deterioration of the situation in the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic. "The speculation [spekulyatsiya] around each attempt by the Russian center to resolve the problem of refugees and forced migrants, to disarm illegal armed formations, to bring to justice those guilty of pillage and murders," the document says, "attests to an extremely rigid position taken by the conflicting sides." The State Committee underscores that a number of solutions on a comprehensive solution [as published] of the problem of refugees and migrants made by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers fully agrees with the accords reached during the Kislovodsk negotiations between North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic.

Neither does the State Committee—as follows from the text of the statement—support the position of North Ossetia, which has embarked, in the opinion of the State Committee, on the road of "the total blocking of the Kislovodsk accords." The statement refutes the rumored intentions by the Russian leadership to enforce federal rule on the territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon. The state commission concerned with defining the Ingush Republic's borders, the document notes, will arrange its work in strict compliance with Russian Supreme Soviet decisions. Saying that both republics' leadership would be answerable for possible undesirable developments, the State Committee states that it "would not allow massive bloodshed," nor "unnecessary casualties among Russian servicemen."

The 19 June statement by the State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation was viewed with bewilderment by the Temporary Administration in the emergency situation zone on the territories of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic when NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA asked it to comment. The situation prevailing in the emergency situation zone over the past week, as was noted at a press conference in the Temporary Administration in Vladikavkaz, did not attest to any increase in tension at all. On the contrary, Major General Yuriy Shatalin, head of the Temporary Administration, finds that the authority of Ingushetia President Aushev has helped to seriously stabilize the situation in the republic. Rublevskiy, press secretary to the Temporary Administration head, advised that an end has been practically put to raids and shootings at the Russian posts on the territory of Ingushetia that were taking place just recently. The situation is not as good in North Ossetia, the temporary Administration headquarters noted. Last week, the city hostel for employees of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry came under automatic weapons fire. Russian Federation operations and investigation groups were fired at three times a day on 18 and 19 June. They met armed resistance at the Beslan rail station.

'Provoked Negative Reaction'

LD2206194593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 22 TASS—A statement of the Russian State Committee on Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities on the situation in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone has provoked negative reaction at today's session of the North Ossetian parliament.

"The statement actually blasted the social-political situation in Northern Ossetia," parliament head Akhsarbek Galazov told ITAR-TASS upon the parliament meeting completion.

"The situation was relatively calm before the statement, saying the real threat of a new large-scale conflict is inevitable. This is actually a provocation, which may lead to another tragedy. The more so, the threat on the part of the Russian Army is unclear. Northern Ossetia believes Russian troops are the main guarantor of peace and stability in the region, and feels good about the troops," he said.

"There are threats on the part of some federal power bodies. How can one treat this way a sovereign republic, which took active part in the elaboration and signing of the federal treaty, as preparations for the adoption of a new Russian constitution are underway? Such steps of some representatives of federal power bodies lead to the destabilization of regional situation and disintegration of Russia," he stressed.

Statement Called 'Irresponsible'

MK2306113493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Natalya Pachegina report: "North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Feels Offended. Showdown To Continue in Moscow"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the 18th session of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet on 22 June was devoted to discussion of the statement issued 19 June by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities. The resolution adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet protested against the State Federation Committee's document, which was described by North Ossetia as an attempt to exert pressure on the republic in resolving the refugee problem. The results of the "armed invasion of Ingush national-extremists," the "historical" part of the Supreme Soviet resolution says, despite efforts by both federal and republican authorities, and also the Provisional Administration in the state

of emergency area, "have led to a serious destabilization in the region." Meanwhile, North Ossetia is still convinced that the search for mutually acceptable solutions should continue. The "irresponsible and peremptory" statement by the State Federation Committee was assessed by Vladikavkaz as a possible factor that may cause an explosion in the North Caucasus. As if echoing the State Federation Committee document, the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, again, presumed that this statement appeared with the connivance of "certain political forces" in Moscow. Chagrined at what the deputies called an intolerable tone of the statement, the North Ossetian parliament judged that this "action" was prompted by the desire of the federal authorities to shift responsibility for the possible recurrence of the conflict onto the republic's leadership.

A separate provision of the Supreme Soviet resolution expands on North Ossetia's stance on the Kislovodsk agreements. The republic insists that the Ingush who left North Ossetia during the armed conflict should be settled in compact communities, seeing this option as the most acceptable one for the republic's population.

Demanding that the Russian Federation president and government give principled assessments of the actions by "certain representatives of the federal authorities who destabilize the situation in the North Caucasus region," the deputies evidently meant Sergey Shakhray. It was to meet with him and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin that Supreme Soviet Chairman Akhsarbek Galazov and North Ossetian Prime Minister Sergey Khetagurov left for Moscow yesterday. The fifth participant of the meeting in Moscow, which, one may presume, is unlikely to be very pleasant, will be Ingush Republic President Ruslan Aushev.

Rostov Oblast 'On the Brink' of Energy Crisis

PM2206122193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By A. Abramenko and V. Yablokov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Abramenko] Specialists believe that Rostov Oblast is on the brink of an energy crisis. The current electricity shortfall, which totals approximately 30 percent, does not look alarming for the time being merely because of the general slump in the economy. But should the long-awaited stabilization set in, the oblast's power generating enterprises will be unable to meet increased demand. It is no good either hoping for the commissioning of additional major capacities such as the Rostov nuclear power station, whose construction has been suspended. Moreover, as Yevgeniy Reshetnikov, Russian deputy minister of atomic energy, who recently visited Rostov, noted, unless the public attitude in the region to the nuclear power station changes within the next 18 months or two years, reactivating the Rostov station will be inexpedient, for both technical and economic reasons.

The oblast's power generation specialists believe that the only way out of this situation is the reconstruction of old thermal power stations and the construction of new ones. Such stations will not make up the shortfall, but they will, at least to some extent, alleviate the damaging effects on the environment of the present power stations. And that in itself is progress, in view of the fact that the Novocherkassk state regional electric power station, the regional power grid monster, alone discharges up to 200 tonnes of dust into the atmosphere every day.

Kuzbass' Tuleyev Hits Leadership Inaction

PM2206101393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Aman Tuleyev by N. Garifullina; place and date not given: "A Game Against the Backdrop of Disaster—On the Results of the Constitutional Conference"]

[Excerpts] [Tuleyev] First and foremost I would like to ask our "people's" president: Why did I have to drop everything and fly 5,000 miles? The so-called plenary sitting 16 June lasted between 15 and 20 minutes, no more. The president read out a statement, churned out his own views, so to speak—then they voted, quickly totted up the percentages, and that was it. Our opinion was not sought—it was **a conference** after all, but the president did not think to consult with us. [passage omitted]

In conditions of instability and confrontation, when nobody knows what things will be like in the fall, it is simply ludicrous to attend to the Constitution—this is an indication of the political bankruptcy of our leaders. The president and his team need a new constitution in order to legitimize what they have already done. [passage omitted]

[Garifullina] A report appeared in the press recently that it has been decided to found something akin to a Kuzbass Republic in your neck of the woods....

[Tuleyev] An enforced measure. There have been several Supreme Soviet decrees on the socioeconomic development of the Kuzbass. A package of specific measures was proposed. Moreover, the Supreme Soviet, several of its committees, and the government participated in its elaboration. A major document was expected to be issued in May laying the basis of who should do what. But nobody is dealing with this document. Nobody!

So what is going on with the miners now? The results of the first five months show that we reduced extraction by 9 percent compared to last year, which itself is considered the least successful to date. According to the norm, there should be 4.5 million tonnes of coal in storage. Right now, we have got double that—9 million. I am a miner, and I go down the mine, and people say to me: Give us coal. And I have no incentive whatever to work. Why bother extracting more coal if January's coal is still lying at the depots?

The president came to Novokuznetsk on the eve of the referendum in order to defuse the situation, and he said: We will export this coal, we will grant subsidies—they will be increasing preferential subsidies—and there will be no increase in railroad tariffs. And none of it was honored! On the contrary, things have deteriorated. Now it is not profitable to extract coal because transportation charges are double its cost price.

Now is the most propitious time to get things moving: It is vital to prepare the housing and utilities sector, pipelines, roofs, and roads for the winter—but there is no money at all for all this. Not to mention the fact that we have stopped building housing altogether....

An oblast session expressed support first and foremost for the idea that there should be a single draft constitution, that it should be adopted through constitutional means only, and that there is no need for haste. Administration head Mikhail Kislyuk and I even sent a joint telegram about this. Then, in light of the fact that not a single decision on the Kuzbass is being honored, the deputies raised the question point-blank. Something has to be done, but the republic authorities only promise.... Now, having come to Moscow, I am convinced: Once again nothing is being done. I will wait another 10 days or so, then I will be forced to bring an action against the president and the government in the arbitration court. The president signs edicts and directives—they are not carried out.... Therefore, the session's decree contains an item—to demand from the president, the government, and the Supreme Soviet that the Kuzbass be given republic status and economic rights. Our "separatism" is unavoidable. The actions of the federal powers have pushed us into this.

In general, the "people's" president loves to make promises. The price of his promises is well known. A few days ago while here with you in Moscow, something gave me a good laugh. In the northeastern part of the city, somewhere along the Rizhskaya line, I saw with my own eyes some grafitti written on a fence in meter-high letters: "Yeltsin lied, Yeltsin lies, and Yeltsin will lie." One could take umbrage—such things are ill-mannered and so on. But it is absolutely true.

[Garifullina] And don't people write on fences in the Kuzbass?

[Tuleyev] Yes, they write! What don't they write! For instance, in the run-up to Boris Yeltsin's visit I saw: "The miners and Yeltsin have betrayed the people." But now the miners themselves have ended up as the betrayed parties. Right now, people are going on vacation. They are staying quiet for the time being, and this is understandable: It is summer, they have their kitchen gardens, dachas, vacations. But this is not paid leave, and the summer and the vacations will have to end sometime....

There is no unified policy, there is no purpose, there are no designated boundaries. Time and again I have impressed upon the government: You, at least, must clarify your position—how much coal do we need? This is a fundamental necessity! Silence. And so it goes on. They decided that some mines have to be mothballed. But mothballing should be done according to the rules. However, there is not enough money in our country for this, so it will be carried out as it was in the Donbass during the war when they simply abandoned everything and flooded the pits.... But such is war! And now? And you know, these thoughts are being expressed aloud, and proposals are being submitted.... But the strangest thing is this: Those miners who are being left to the mercy of fate are the very people who brought them to power, and they are destroying them through their own policies.... [passage omitted]

International Affairs

UK's Hogg Comments on Nuclear Arms, Bilateral Trade

LD2206193093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Douglas Hogg, minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs of Great Britain, is in Ukraine on an official visit. The British guest held a news conference on the results of his visit to Kiev. My colleague Lyudmila Katrashchuk reports.

[Katrashchuk] Douglas Hogg arrived in Ukraine to open a British embassy in Kiev, as well as to hold negotiations on a number of issues of interest to both countries. Meetings were held with First Deputy Foreign Minister Mykola Makarevych, Dmytro [illegible], chairman of the Supreme Council standing commission on foreign affairs, and other officials. Ukraine's relations with Great Britain and countries of Western Europe [illegible] as the nature of mutual [illegible] and Russia, and other CIS

[illegible] attention was drawn in the course of this visit to the ratification of the START I Treaty by the parliament of Ukraine, programs related to Yugoslavia, as well as the issues of trade between Ukraine and Great Britain. [passage omitted]

The British guest said that Great Britain is interested in mutually beneficial trade between our countries. Britain, he emphasized, stands firm on the issue of trade liberalization. Another issue is the signing of a trade agreement between Ukraine and the EC. There is a problem here, and it concerns the elimination of nuclear arms by Ukraine. I do not think, Douglas Hogg said, that there is a very clearly pronounced connection here, but if Ukraine fails to keep its word, it will thus cause disappointment in Europe. But generally speaking, we must work toward the stabilization of contacts between West European and Ukrainian politicians, Douglas Hogg said in conclusion at his news.

He opened the British Embassy in Kiev and then left for Lvov.

Close Cooperation with FRG Promised in Joint Statement

AU2206154893 Bonn BULLETIN in German No. 53/17 Jun 93 pp 557-560

[Joint statement on relations between the FRG and Ukraine made during FRG Chancellor Kohl's visit to Ukraine on 9-10 June]

[Text] 1. Conscious of their cultural, economic, scientific, and human ties of many centuries, the long periods of fruitful cooperation and various exchanges between their peoples, but also bearing in mind the disastrous periods of recent European history, the FRG and Ukraine agree that they want to cooperate closely for the benefit of their peoples and thus contribute to peace in Europe and the whole world. This is in line with the interests and the deep desire of the German and Ukrainian peoples.

Overcoming the contrast between East and West has made it possible for the German people to regain their unity in free self-determination. The Ukrainian people have also gained their independence in free self-determination. Thus, new prospects have developed for the traditional friendship between the German and Ukrainian peoples.

Germany and Ukraine are guided by the wish to generally develop the relations of friendship, good neighborliness, and cooperation.

They affirm their declaration of the objectives and principles of the UN Charter, the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act of 1 August 1975, the Paris Charter for a new Europe, and the other CSCE documents.

They are convinced of the need for the establishment of a new Europe that is united by joint values and its transformation into a continent of peace, security, and cooperation.

Germany and Ukraine affirm that respect for human rights, basic freedoms, principles of humanity, democracy, and the rule-of-law state is the foundation for the development of a new Europe.

They are guided by the wish to provide their relations with a new quality.

2. Germany and Ukraine will develop their relations in agreement with international law, the observation of the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders, the peaceful settlement of controversies, the prohibition of the threat and use of violence, and the observation of human rights, including the rights of national minorities.

Both sides affirm the right of all peoples to determine their fate freely and without interference from the outside and their political, economic, social, and cultural development according to their own wishes.

3. Both sides state that they respect the territorial integrity of the other side.

4. Germany and Ukraine affirm the joint responsibility for the strengthening of peace, stability, and security in Europe, and they advocate Europe's growing together into a uniform area of human rights, democracy, and rule-of-law states.

They will solve all possible controversies exclusively with peaceful means. They advocate that this principle be unreservedly applied to the relations between all CSCE participants.

For this purpose, they will support all efforts and projects that contribute to strengthening security and the development of cooperative structures of security for the whole of Europe in the CSCE and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. In addition, they will also bilaterally contribute to the strengthening of mutual understanding and confidence. For this purpose, they will make agreements on various contacts between their defense ministries and armed forces.

5. Germany and Ukraine affirm the commitments resulting from the CSCE documents. Both sides advocate the strengthening of the CSCE process. They declare the unreserved recognition of the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and the Paris Charter for a new Europe. They affirm their profession of democracy as the only legitimate form of rule.

6. Both sides stress the need for the advancement of the process of disarmament and arms control in the nuclear field, regarding other mass destruction weapons, and their carrier systems, as well as in the conventional field. They attach great importance to the speedy commencement and the implementation of the worldwide agreement on a chemical weapons ban.

Germany and Ukraine declare themselves for the policy of nonproliferation and advocate the comprehensive strengthening of the international law treaties and international regimes supporting this policy on an equal basis. They regard the Nonproliferation Treaty, to which the FRG belongs as a state without nuclear weapons and to which Ukraine wants to accede as soon as possible with the same status, as the cornerstone of the international nonproliferation regime.

The FRG is prepared to support Ukraine in the fulfillment of its disarmament commitments according to its possibilities.

Germany and Ukraine stress the importance that they attach to the observation and complete implementation of existing agreements on the reduction and limitation of conventional weapons, the restriction of personnel strengths, and security- and confidence-building measures. They agree that arms control in Europe will have to primarily serve to develop cooperative security relations between the CSCE states in the future. Both sides want to actively use the CSCE forum for security cooperation.

They express their conviction that the continuation of the conventional arms control negotiations after the CSCE follow-up meeting in Helsinki within the framework of all CSCE member states will be an important component of a new, cooperative security system on the European continent, where peace is secured with fewer arms.

Both sides commit themselves to participation in the UN register for conventional arms, to keep aloof from the trade in arms and armament goods, and to prevent the transfer of know-how for mass-destruction weapons with the help of penal provisions against their own natural and legal persons.

The FRG is prepared to cooperate with Ukraine, in order to support it in the development of the national export control system.

7. Both sides will have consultations on question of joint interest on various levels. They are prepared to cooperate within the framework of the international organizations whose members they are or will be.

They intend to promote direct contacts on all levels, including the municipal.

Both sides will pay particular attention to the development of relations and the exchange between the parliaments.

In their relations, they will use the positive experiences and results of the traditional relations of many years between the German laender and cities and individual Ukrainian regions and cities on a broad basis.

8. Both sides intend to cooperate in the development of various forms of regional and subregional cooperation.

They agree that progress in the development of the pan-European infrastructure (transportation, communications, energy) is necessary for the creation of the one, common Europe. In cooperation with European institutions and neighboring countries, they will examine opportunities for the deepening of the infrastructural connections.

Naturally, the traditionally close relations in the field of transportation (street, railroad, air, sea traffic, and inland navigation) is particularly important.

9. In order to develop and strengthen the friendly relations and cooperation between Germany and Ukraine, both sides will support the development of free contacts between their citizens and the social and political organizations of the two countries. They intend to simplify the administrative procedures and the practice and implementation of such contacts, which is particularly important for mutual acquaintance and the strengthening of the mutual understanding of the peoples of the two states.

10. Both sides attach particular importance to the development of mutually advantages economic cooperation. They are aware of the importance of the establishment of adequate framework conditions for the development of industry, agriculture, and the services sector in Ukraine according to market economy rules.

Germany and Ukraine are striving for comprehensive economic and industrial cooperation. They give the enterprises and other agencies of economic activities of the other side the opportunity for free activities within the framework of the relevant valid laws. Both sides advocate various and close contacts and cooperation

between German and Ukrainian enterprises and other agencies of economic activities.

The establishment of a delegate's office of the German economy in Ukraine, which will take up its work in Kiev in 1993, and a relevant Ukrainian office in Germany also serve to intensify the economic relations.

In view of the process of renewal in Ukraine, the German side is prepared to support Ukraine in word and deed in the development of its future, which is oriented toward the market economy, particularly the development and operation of stock exchanges. Both sides will actively participate in the German-Ukrainian cooperation council, with the cooperation of high-ranking representatives of the economy and the government of the two countries, with the objective to promote bilateral economic and business relations and to accompany the reform process in Ukraine in the transition to the market economy.

They also strive for the extension of cooperation in the field of the power economy, according to the same principles. The formation of entrepreneurial syndicates might also serve this purpose.

Both sides agree that the development of financial relations between Germany and Ukraine requires the participation of Ukraine, as a successor state of the former Soviet Union, in the settlement of the old Soviet debts between the states on the territory of the former Soviet Union and a multilateral settlement with the creditors.

Germany and Ukraine stress the importance of legal and social support for the reform process. Germany offers its experiences to help in the establishment and development of rule-of-law structures in Ukraine, as well as its experiences in the field of labor promotion, social security, and social partnership, in order to make a contribution to the success of the Ukrainian reform process.

Both sides attach great importance to cooperation in the training and advanced training of economic specialists and managers and are prepared to qualitatively deepen and increase this cooperation.

11. Both sides are planning broad cooperation in the field of environmental protection and the environmental compatibility of the use of natural resources on the basis of mutual interest.

Considering the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, Germany and Ukraine show their great interest in continued close cooperation in the fields of the safety of nuclear technology, radiation protection, and reduction of damage caused by radiation.

12. Both sides declare their intention to further develop cultural cooperation in all spheres, including education and science.

They affirm their readiness to ensure free access to the language and culture of the other side to all interested persons and to support corresponding state, social, and other initiatives.

Cultivation and preservation of the cultural assets of the other side on one's own territory are a natural expression of the new togetherness of Germany and Ukraine. They agree that missing or illegally displaced cultural assets that are on their respective territories are to be returned to the owner or his legal successor.

13. Germany and Ukraine intend to cooperate bilaterally and multilaterally in combating organized crime, international terrorism, drug crimes, and smuggling, in particular the smuggling of cultural assets.

14. Germany and Ukraine agree to make access to graves, their preservation and care easier and to give the other side the opportunity, as far as possible, to establish worthy memorials or cemeteries for the dead, which call for peace, and to put them under the protection of the laws. They will support the cooperation between the organizations that are responsible for the care of the graves of the fallen, on the basis of an agreement on caring for war graves.

15. Germany welcomes the fact that Ukraine is determined to rehabilitate the national minorities who were deported from its territory during the years of Stalinist repression, and to grant them the right to return to their former place of residence and to promote their settlement in compact villages, whereby the rights of the people already living there are not restricted.

Germany notes with satisfaction that, in this connection, Ukraine will facilitate the settlement of Germans, who so wish, on its territory and will continue to support this process within the framework of its possibilities. In the course of the progressive settlement of Germans in Ukraine, Germany will provide, within the framework of its possibilities, varied help in the fields of culture, social matters, economy, agriculture, and regional planning as well as in strengthening the binational and ethnic community. Both sides will cooperate in this field at the government level.

Both sides agree that the promotion of the process of compact settlement for Ukrainian citizens of German origin, who permanently live in Ukraine, or for Germans who settle there is conducive to helping them—regardless of their right to leave the country—ensure prospects for the future for themselves and for their children and to preserve their home in Ukraine.

Germany and Ukraine agree that the Ukrainian citizens of German origin in Ukraine, as well as German citizens of Ukrainian origin in Germany, are given the opportunity to cultivate their language, culture, national traditions, and religion in line with their free decisions.

Both sides affirm that the preservation of these persons' cultural identity and their inherent rights occupies an

important function in establishing friendly relations. Accordingly, they permit and facilitate promotion measures for the benefit of these persons and their organizations within the framework of the valid laws of the other side.

16. Germany and Ukraine agree to solve practical issues relating to the opening and working of their embassies in Bonn and Kiev as quickly as possible.

17. Proceeding from the premise that Ukraine is a successor of the former Soviet Union, both sides agree to apply the international law treaties between the FRG and the USSR in the relations between the FRG and Ukraine until both sides agree on something different in harmony with their laws. They will continue their consultations for this purpose.

Germany and Ukraine affirm that this declaration does not touch upon their obligations arising from treaties and alliances with other states.

Fuel Deliveries Discussed Before Chernomyrdin Visit

LD2206185993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] In connection with the visit to Kiev by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin planned for 24 June, talks between representatives of the government delegations of Russia and Ukraine began in Kiev today. The question of the price of oil and gas and of its transportation across Ukraine's territory is being discussed. Radio Ukraine World Service was informed of this at the press center of the Ukrainian State Committee for Oil and Gas.

Auxiliary Fleet Sailors Strike Over Pay

LD2206212193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] On Tuesday [22 June] the sailors of the Kerch division of rescue ships in the Black Sea Fleet announced an indefinite strike in protest against beggarly wages. As an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the fleet's press center, sailors in the auxiliary fleet should have received an advance payment of 7,000 karbovantsi in accordance with the wage rates introduced in Ukraine. In protest, they refused to pick up their wages and adopted a decision not to go to work from 23 June. According to a number of economists, after the sharp price increase at the beginning of the month in Ukraine, the consumer basket costs around 100,000 karbovantsi.

Deputies Oppose Sending Troops to Somalia

WS2306094793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The proposal by UN General Secretary Butrus-Ghali to send a Ukrainian battalion to Somalia as part of the UN peacekeeping force seems to evoke no enthusiasm among the people's deputies. Both communists and national democrats assess this action as inexpedient from the economic and political points of view. Member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Oleksandr Kotsyuba and Chairman of the Ukrayina Association Ivan Drach categorically oppose this move, including the discussion of the issue by the Supreme Soviet. It is noteworthy that after the general secretary's visit, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has not discussed his proposal.

Plyushch Discusses Draft Constitution at Symposium

LD2106122993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] The international symposium Draft Constitution of Ukraine continues its work in Kiev today. It has been organized by the Ukrainian Legal Foundation and the parliament's consultative-advisory council. Constitutional experts from the United States, Canada, the FRG, France, Great Britain, and Hungary are taking part in the symposium. The issue of delimitation of power in the draft fundamental law is being discussed today.

The new constitution of Ukraine must clearly stipulate that the president, elected by the entire nation, must be the head of state and the prime minister must be the head of the executive authority. This was stated today by Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council, speaking at the plenary sitting of the international symposium. He also pointed out that local bodies should be formed by direct elections by the population. In his opinion, mayor's offices should be set up in large cities, and the mechanism for doing this should be worked out right now.

Ivan Plyushch also spoke about the work of the Constitutional Commission on the draft fundamental law of Ukraine, about the difficulties it happens to face and also answered questions from the symposium participants.

National Affairs

Supreme Council Adopts Law on Private Land Ownership

WS2306080493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The evening plenary Supreme Council session adopted the law on introducing changes and amendments into the Ukrainian law on peasant farms. Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Foodstuffs Mykhaylo Peresunko delivered a speech on this issue. The law envisions private land ownership for the first time in independent Ukraine's history. Ownership certificates will be issued to heads of peasant farms. According to the law, plots not larger than 50 hectares of arable land will be transferred or leased to private owners. In areas that lack a work force, the number will be up to 100 hectares. The

proposal by the Poltava Oblast Farmers Association to lift the ceiling on the size of plots was rejected.

Adopts Law on Antimonopoly Committee

LD2206193593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Protecting the interests of entrepreneurs and consumers—this is precisely what the law on the Ukraine Antimonopoly Committee is directed at. The law was adopted in its first reading at the plenary sitting of the Supreme Council on 22 June. The document envisages that this committee will exercise its powers (?by) adhering to the constitution and to Ukraine's laws, acting independently of bodies of state executive authority, local and regional self-government, officials or entrepreneurs, and also of associations of citizens or their bodies.

The session then examined and made amendments and additions to the law on the peasant farming economy, but the resolution on this issue was dispatched for adjustment.

The Supreme Council also ratified agreements with the Russian Federation and with the Republic of Belarus on the mutual recognition of rights and the regulation of relations of property.

In the morning the deputies commemorated those who died in the Great Patriotic War with a minute of silence.

Former Deputy Speaker To Create New Party

WS2306081193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2123 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Kharkiv, 22 June—Volodymyr Hrynyov, former deputy speaker of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, has held a press conference. After a short opening speech in which he described the present economic and political situation in Ukraine as catastrophic, V. Hrynyov answered questions from the journalists. At the conference, it turned out that his move to [words indistinct], but also by political reasons. On the basis of the "New Ukraine," he intends to create a new political structure that he thinks will have a significant impact on social and political life. This would be a party-type organization embracing different political parties that would have the rights of a faction. This would be a left-centrist party with liberal-democratic orientation. Hrynyov also declared that the "New Ukraine" and the Rukh are currently doomed to cooperation, and united in a common electoral coalition, they could exert considerable pressure on the legislature and the government. Although not quite sure about the expediency of the presidency, he will propose his candidacy for this post. He also denied allegations about his involvement in the Donbass strikes but confirmed that the leading instigators of those strikes were his confidants from the last presidential campaign as well as some managers whom he knows personally. V. Hrynyov said that by his resignation, he gave a hard time to those deputies who threatened to walk out on the Supreme Council at any moment.

Communists Hold Restorative Congress; Split Occurs

PM2206144193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Frolov report: "A Difficult Battle for Unity. The Ukrainian Communist Party Holds Restorative Congress"]

[Text] On 19 June in Donetsk the Ukrainian Communist Party Restorative Congress was held, assembling 529 delegates from all oblasts, and also the Republic of Crimea.

The congress declared the party's resumption of activity as the political organization of communists of sovereign Ukraine, the party of social justice and social progress, open for all citizens remaining true to the ideals of communism and advocating the preservation of the socialist road of social development.

The party considers itself the successor of the Ukrainian Communist Party which operated before the anticonstitutional ban, and considers one of its most important political tasks the struggle to have the illegal decision of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium to ban the Communist Party rescinded.

The congress adopted a program statement and party rules and elected leading organs. Petr Nikolayevich Simonenko, chairman of the organizational committee for the preparation of the congress, was elected first secretary of the Central Committee.

The congress was characterized by sharp internal party contradictions. From the very outset a group of delegates constituting a minority of the congress, but very united and organized, took a course toward splitting the party, actively using extreme "leftist" phraseology and appealing to the communists' best instincts [as published]. Under pressure from this group, the congress adopted a decision to join the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU in formulas which virtually exclude the possibility of registering the [Ukrainian] Communist Party and resuming its legal activity.

However, even this did not satisfy the group in question. On the pretext that the congress called itself restorative, and not the 29th, some of the newly elected Central Committee members directly after the elections left the party or suspended their membership in it. At the end of the congress a group of delegates announced their intention to hold a second leg so as to change the party leadership. Thus, events developed according to virtually the same scenario as at the Communist Party of the Russian Federation's second congress. However, whereas in Russia the attempt to split the party failed, in

Ukraine the plan to divert the party from real work into pedantic squabbles has nearly been accomplished.

On the eve of a referendum and elections and in circumstances of the growth of the workers' movement, Ukrainian communists have a host of difficult tasks to accomplish, requiring unity and discipline. The continuance of fruitless disputes can only impede this. In such conditions the leadership of the Ukrainian Socialist Party, which has been operating since October 1991, decided—in my view, perfectly correctly—not to hurry to dissolve its organizations, which unite a large number of communists.

Lugansk Oblast Mines Continue Strike

WS2306081693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Regardless of the fact that the government commission led by First Deputy Prime Minister Yefim Zvyagilskyy has reached an agreement with strikers in Donetsk and signed a protocol on meeting their demands, the situation in three Lugansk Oblast cities of Krasnodon, Lisichansk, and Pervomaysk, where miners have not resumed work, remains tense. Five mines of the Stakhanovvuhillya Association, the Tsentralna mine in Antratsit, and the Voykov mine in Sverdlovsk are still on strike. The situation in Lisichansk is most dramatic. The personnel of the Alchevsk Metallurgic Plant have held a conference and elected a strikers committee. The city's public transportation workers have put forward their demands to the local executive committee: raising their wages to 80 percent of the average wage in industry and granting a 30-day annual leave. A strike will be held on 2 July if the local administration fails to meet these demands.

Kravchuk Chairs First Meeting of Crime Commission

LD2206211393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The press service of the president of Ukraine has reported that the first organizational meeting of the coordinating committee for issues of the campaign against crime, set up in accordance with the presidential decree of 18 June, took place on 22 June under the chairmanship of Leonid Kravchuk. Speaking about the main aims of the coordinating committee, the president of Ukraine stressed the need to conduct an active campaign against all criminal manifestations—above all against organized crime—with the support of law enforcement bodies, provincial power structures, and the public. The task was set to elaborate a specific program for preventing and discovering crimes, particularly those that have become most widespread and threaten the normal life and work of the population.

Morozov Orders Use of National Symbols on Military Equipment

LD2206194093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] By order of Ukraine Defense Minister Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov, the instruction on marking weapons and equipment with signs of affiliation to the armed forces of our state has come into force. The main sign is the symbol of the army, the golden trident, and an additional one is the two stripes in blue and yellow.

Kazakhstan

Israeli Ambassador Speaks With Parliament Chairman

LD2206211193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1956 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty June 22 TASS— Israel's ambassador to Kazakhstan Ben-Tziyon Karmel said here today that this sovereign Central Asian republic occupies a special place in his country's policy. The envoy spoke at a reception held by chairman of Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet Serikbolsyn Abdildin.

Different aspects of bilateral relations were touched upon during the talks. The ambassador handed over to the Kazakh parliamentary head a personal invitation from the Knesset chairman to visit Israel at a suitable time which was received with gratitude.

Nazarbayev Views Economic Ties With CIS States

LD2206134793 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] On 21 June President Nursultan Nazarbayev held a meeting on economic issues in the republic and the state of credit and money relations with the Commonwealth states. It was attended by government members, heads of oblast administrations, and the heads of Almaty and Leninsk administrations, chairmen of the parliamentary committees, the heads of the National State and commercial banks, heads of the large industrial enterprises and senior officials of the presidential apparatus, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Supreme Assembly. Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko and Galym Baynazarov, chairman of the Board of the National State Bank, made reports.

The speakers put forward specific proposals which in their mind will help to coordinate industry, lift economy out of crisis, and improve credit and money relations both in Kazakhstan and within the CIS countries.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Nursulatan Nazarbayev said that we do not have in mind a radical change in policy, whether we want it or not the integration processes will continue. The current situation presupposes that Kazakhstan's economy should first of all satisfy needs of the republic while some of our enterprises still prefer to cooperate with foreign partners without thinking about the needs of their own country and people.

The president emphazised that urgent steps should be taken to reduce Kazakhstan's dependence on imports and to develop production with whose quality matches that of imported goods. The government should introduce tough controls over the use of strategic raw materials and devise a specific action plan for the difficult presentday conditions.

The president supported the suggestion of the State Property Committee on setting up national joint-stock companies and sectoral and territorial holding companies.

The meeting was also attended by Supreme Assembly Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin and Vice President Yerik Asanbayev.

Kazakh-Russian Economic Ties 'Gradually' Restored

PM2206132993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Economic ties between neighboring oblasts in Russia and Kazakhstan, disrupted as a result of the disintegration of the Union, are gradually being restored again. Despite lack of success in this sphere on the scale of the CIS, partnership is being established at local level by both small enterprises and major industrial associations.

Thanks to the new relations with Russia, the Kazakh Kokchetav "Selstroy" [Rural Construction] Trust has opened branches in Lesosibirsk and Magnitogorsk. The Magnitka supplies the construction workers with metal and pipes, and the builders, using Siberian timber, are constructing comfortable houses for the Siberians.

The Krasnodar Science and Production Association of the Russian Federation Gosstroy [State Committee for Issues of Architecture and Construction] is installing production lines for the Kazakhs. Apart from the normal advantages of this, the Kazakh order literally saved the Krasnodar Science and Production Association from being dissolved as a result of the long-term lack of any work at all. [passage omitted]

Tereshchenko on 'Sharply Worsened' Ties

LD2206190593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty June 22 TASS— Prime Minister of Kazakhstan Sergey Tereshchenko described the economic stituation in the country as "tense and unstable" at a meeting with members of the government, heads of regional administrations, bank managers and directors of large industrial enterprises. They discussed the economic situation in the republic and its credit and monetary relations with CIS countries.

The prime minister noted that trade and economic relations with Russia have a decisive significance for the

economy of Kazakhstan. But lately they have "sharply worsened". According to Tereshchenko, this is "fraught with unpredictable consequences for both sides, because it can lead to a complete paralysis of the economic life of many enterprises of Russia, as well as of Kazakhstan, complication of power supply, unemployment and aggravation of social tension."

Regarding financial and credit relations and mutual payments, the Kazakhstan premier said "Russia has categorically refused to reckon its enterprises factual debts as a payment to Kazakhstan." He said that conditions laid down by Russia on credits for Kazakhstan in 1993 are identical to foreign credits received from foreign partners. No accords have been reached in this sphere. According to the premier's information, "even if a credit is made available, it is only against a specific production purchased by Kazakhstan." The prime minister assessed such situation as "pushing Kazakhstan out of the rouble zone."

The Kazakhstan Government intends to sign with Russia a so called "zero version" on foreign debt and assets of the former Soviet Union within the framework of joint actions on the concentration of foreign currency funds and integration with the world economy. Accoding to Tereshchenko, this will "relieve the republic of the heavy burden of 3.2 billion U.S. dollars of foreign debt, help it freely choose foreign borrowers and investors and use the foreign currency funds efficiently."

Russian Delegation Discusses Current Issues

LD2106215093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] A Russian Federation parliamentary delegation led by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vladimir Ispravnikov arrived in Almaty today. It has started talks with a parliamentary delegation of Kazakhstan led by Supreme Soviet Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin. They have discussed questions of money circulation, the granting of credit to Kazakhstan, and the problem of delivery of cash to it. The sides reached mutual understanding on problems of Baykonur where quite a few Russian experts work. They agreed that an immediate start should be made on resolving them. Tomorrow working groups will have meetings with the parliamentary delegation.

Tajikistan

Prime Minister Interviewed on Economic Policy

MK2206130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov by Radik Batyrshin; place and date not given; under "Power" rubric: "Prophet Muhammad Created the Koran as Lenin Created the Communist Party Statute. Tajikistan Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov Is Not Out for Blood]

[Text] [Batyrshin] Does Tajikistan have an economic strategy?

[Abdulladzhanov] Our government's economic policy is aimed at addressing eight sets of problems. First, support for entrepreneurship, small and medium businesses. Then land reform, restructuring the entire agricultural sector, revising the banking, monetary, and credit system, and investment policy. Tax policy is not neglected either: The largest benefits, including full exemptions, will be granted to businesses engaged in material production. The most important thing for us is that businessmen should faithfully pay their taxes rather than make every effort to evade them. It is wrong to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. The biggest challenge for us is social protection of the people. Large families, pensioners, and invalids (16 percent of the population), and young people under 18 (52 percent) will be receiving targeted subsidies. At present out of a 22.5 million able-bodied population, 1.2 million have no job. That is, if we ignore latent unemployment. Therefore the second part of the social protection program is devoted to protecting the interests of entrepreneurs.

[Batyrshin] Protecting them from the extortion racket?

[Abdulladzhanov] Not only that. Abuse on the part of administrative bodies is no less terrible than racketeering—I have experienced this myself. Next, protection of the state structures themselves for several years, until big-time privatization gets under way. We had to suspend what was called privatization under the old regime. For example, a silk plant that produced tens of billions of rubles [R] worth of goods was bought for 200 million. Business must be fair. And one final direction is cadre policy. Thus, among the latest innovations is the mandatory study of English, beginning with preschool. At present we are borrowing R83 billion from Russia, 42 billion of which will go to credits for entrepreneurs. We have received $100 million from Russia, excluding funds to buy foodstuffs. Another $500 million is pending, 80 percent of which will be allotted to businesses operating in the production sphere. But this program will remain on paper unless there are enforceable laws. This is what we are now working on.

[Batyrshin] But in what form will they be adopted by the Supreme Soviet?

[Abdulladzhanov] I will reveal a secret: The deputies also want to live a good life. We have an excellent relationship with parliament.

[Batyrshin] What does Tajikistan need to become economically independent?

[Abdulladzhanov] We are striving for economic independence, and there are all the prerequisites for that. The main condition is large-scale investments. At present we import some 70 percent of goods.

[Batyrshin] Rumors are periodically circulating about Tajikistan's joining Russia....

[Abdulladzhanov] Recent sessions of CIS heads of government have been discussing the problem of a single economic zone. It is within this framework that we collaborate with Russia, probably more consistently than others. This is dictated by reality.

[Batyrshin] There are two views on the CIS: by the president of Ukraine and the president of Kazakhstan. Which of them is closer to you?

[Abdulladzhanov] Rather the one maintained by Nursultan Nazarbayev. But I also have my own view conditioned by the fact that Russia accounts for 88 percent of the volume of our foreign economic relations. In the past the USSR leadership regarded Tajikistan as a sort of reserve for the country, a base of raw materials for the future. Therefore the union leadership kept the republic's deposits of nonferrous and rare-earth metals, industrial and construction materials, and hydropower facilities "for a rainy day." Between 50 and 75 percent of the republic's budget at the time was based on union subventions. After the disintegration of the USSR we were left one to one with our problems.

[Batyrshin] There have been many rumors about Tajik gold....

[Abdulladzhanov] It does exist, but not very much. In the next few years we are planning to raise its output to 14 to 16 tonnes of pure gold a year. Therefore we should talk about Tajik silver. Our silver deposits are among the largest in the world. Tajikistan annually extracts up to 1,000 tonnes of this metal. At this rate it can be continue to be mined for up to 100 years. But this is not all either—the republic has very substantial deposits of rare-earth and nonferrous metals.

[Batyrshin] Can these deposits ensure the republic's needs?

[Abdulladzhanov] We should be realists—this would only be possible in the future, not now. According to our estimates, the first stage of a project related to these metals will require $2.5 billion to $3 billion. The money will be recouped within three or four years. We are also looking for other options. Today only 7 percent of the cotton produced in the republic is processed in Tajikistan, and the final products are of low quality. If this share could be raised to 35 percent over five years, we would manage to score the first success stories in stabilizing the economy.

[Batyrshin] What investment guarantees do you ensure now?

[Abdulladzhanov] None so far. At present, jointly with U.S. specialists, we are working on corresponding draft laws that will be adopted by parliament before the end of the year.

[Batyrshin] But today state ownership is dominant in Tajikistan....

[Abdulladzhanov] I think that the time when private property in the republic dominates over state property will not come until 10 years later.

[Batyrshin] How are relations between Dushanbe and Gornyy Badakhshan?

[Abdulladzhanov] We are holding regular meetings on support for this region economically. In the very near future we, jointly with parliament head Amomali Rakhmonov, will visit Badakhshan. Today there can be no question about the position of Tajikistan's authorities being made dependent on where, in which region, the republic's citizens live. It is all the same to us where our assistance is needed—in Garm, Kulyab, or Badakhshan. Of course, there is factional fighting, but this is not state policy.

[Batyrshin] What percentage of the territory does your government control at present?

[Abdulladzhanov] One hundred percent.

[Batyrshin] Is federalization of Tajikistan a possibility?

[Abdulladzhanov] This should not happen since the republic is small as it is. I think that it is regionalism that has become one of the causes for civil war. The government's present policy is aimed at integrating the republic's regions. We are elaborating a special program to build enterprises in various parts of Tajikistan which would be very closely interlinked.

[Batyrshin] What is the role of Russian troops in the republic now? And in the future?

[Abdulladzhanov] Russian troops are in the republic and they must be present here as psychological deterrence against possible aggression. This does not mean that we should not have our own armed forces. The republic is building them, but this is a lengthy process calling for substantial outlays.

[Batyrshin] Could Russian troops in Tajikistan be compared to the U.S. contingent in South Korea?

[Abdulladzhanov] I would rather compare them to UN peacekeeping forces.

[Batyrshin] What is Afghanistan's influence in the republic's internal affairs?

[Abdulladzhanov] Kabul officialdom is not interested in this. The negative influence on our situation is being exerted by groups outside central government control. I am sure that they cannot occupy even the eastern part of our territory, but they are giving us no peace. We are trying to conduct negotiations with all these groups. Incidentally, similar activity against us is being conducted by unofficial groups based on the territory of

Iran, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia. We are trying to negotiate also with them, as well as with the official authorities.

[Batyrshin] When will these groups' influence be minimized?

[Abdulladzhanov] At present we are taking steps to ensure the return of refugees. When the majority of them have come back, I think the efforts by these groups will be useless.

[Batyrshin] Close relations between Dushanbe and Tashkent are generally well-known. Is the volume of military aid from Uzbekistan commensurate with the scale of Russian assistance?

[Abdulladzhanov] Our relations with both Russia and Uzbekistan are equally important to us. It would be political shortsightedness to give preference to one at the expense of the other. Both Russia and Uzbekistan stood by us in the republic's hour of need.

[Batyrshin] What is your attitude to the idea of an economic association of the post-Soviet states in Central Asia?

[Abdulladzhanov] There is nothing unusual about this. Great Britain exists within the EEC, within the G-7, NATO, and so forth. One thing does not hamper another.

[Batyrshin] What is the main problem in relations with Russia?

[Abdulladzhanov] The relations between our countries' banks. The CIS decision on creating a single banking system so far is not taking effect.

[Batyrshin] International human rights organizations are charging Tajikistan authorities with violations of human rights....

[Abdulladzhanov] Today there is no persecution of the opposition by the authorities. We are ready to negotiate with all politicians except those who have been directly involved in terrorist acts and mass murders. Twice an amnesty has been announced and now a third one is pending. But each amnesty has its limit; we cannot let those whose hands are stained in blood up to their elbows go unpunished.

[Batyrshin] The opposition was also supported by part of the Tajik intelligentsia....

[Abdulladzhanov] I think that an overwhelming majority of them will be amnestied. Today we are inviting the intelligentsia to persuade members of opposition groups to lay down their weapons voluntarily. Our government is not thirsty for blood.

[Batyrshin] Could civil war resume?

[Abdulladzhanov] No. Therefore we are seeking to unite the citizens of all regions. Whatever finger is cut off, it always hurts. The people trust us and we must justify this trust. Today all regions are represented in the upper echelons of power. Moreover, Pamir and Garm (up to now opposition bases—R.B.) have never been as represented in Tajikistan power structures as they are now.

[Batyrshin] During the civil war the two most popular propaganda cliches were "Islamic fundamentalists" and "Communist nomenklatura"....

[Abdulladzhanov] Our government is also called "communo- fascist." That the previous regime was fundamentalist is a fact. The CPSU's departure from the scene brought about an ideological vacuum that was filled by Islam. At first we did not see anything terrible about that: Each Tajik family, including my own, has always observed Islamic customs in some form or another. The people needed something to believe in. After all, Prophet Muhammad some time in the past created the Koran, just as Lenin devised the party rules. No one today denies that the policy followed by that regime was blessed by the Kaziat [spiritual board of the Muslims of Tajikistan]. We were the first among the republics who authorized the activity of the Islamic Revival Party; therefore why should we ban the Communist Party? Even today we do not ban the activity of any party. They themselves have fled because their leaders are guilty of statutory crimes. I have no relationship with the Communist Party. I left it three years ago. The communists today have turned away from us. I have my own view of life. In those years, when I was a minister, I was shadowed by the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They would come and visit me, my mother, my mother-in-law, my friends. Yes, I was engaged in business activity, but honest activity. And I remitted 99 percent of profits to the ministry. Now the Tajik Communist Party is the largest public organization: It has a membership of some 18,000. But this is nothing compared with what it used to be—160,000. One day my ministers came to me and started complaining about all these accusations. I said that we simply have no time to justify ourselves, trying to prove that we are not jackasses. When legislation is passed, and when the economy begins to work, everything will fall into place. There is no need to waste time. I work and spend nights in my office, and I have no time to engage in counterpropaganda.

[Batyrshin] The level of democracy is usually gauged by, among other things, the level of freedom of the press....

[Abdulladzhanov] Indeed, there are very few publications at present. We do not forbid anyone to launch newspapers, but very little time has passed since the end of the civil war. Economic ruin is not conducive to freedom of the press. Today there is still a long way to go before stabilization both in politics and in the economy, but we are confidently moving toward it. We intend to observe all international acts on human rights. If we violate them, we shall have no future. Freaks will exist, and there are various armed groups of "avengers," but we are fighting them.

[Batyrshin] Is it a problem for you, how to get rid of your former "allies," those who were fighting the fundamentalists?

[Abdulladzhanov] This problem is especially acute for us in the south of Tajikistan. Until March the disarmament of illegal formations had proceeded successfully. But then incidents on the Tajik-Afghan border began. We had to move the main forces to protect the border and thereby weakened the republic's law enforcement bodes. Disarming the illegal formations will take us some three years. We cannot afford the luxury of roundups since this would lead to bloodshed. And then those opposed to the Islamists would be accusing us of violating human rights. We are looking for political options to place these groups under control and disarm them.

[Batyrshin] On 4 May NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's commentator Igor Rotar was cruelly beaten up in the Dushanbe hotel "Tajikistan." Then he was "fined" 10,000 rubles without getting a receipt....

[Abdulladzhanov] I am sure that those were not officers of the Internal Affairs Ministry or the National Security Committee of Tajikistan. In Dushanbe there are plenty of groups wearing uniforms, which are outside our control....

[Batyrshin] Unfortunately, on 5 May, in response to Rotar's complaint, Abdulayev, deputy chief of the Tajikistan interior affairs directorate, threatened to arrest him after his business trip had ended.

[Abdulladzhanov] Why did he not appeal to the Supreme Soviet or the Council of Ministers? I am ready to meet him and straighten everything out.

[Batyrshin] Unfortunately, this is not possible. On the night of 10 to 11 June Igor Rotar was severely beaten up by an unidentified gang in downtown Moscow....

Turkmenistan

Gradual Introduction of Republic's Currency Planned

LD1506202593 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Before introducing its own currency, Turkmenistan will sign interstate agreements with the neighboring CIS member-countries, President Saparmurat Niyazov, said at a sitting of the Turkmenistan Cabinet of Ministers. Touching upon a mechanism for introducing the manat, the president stressed that it will be based on gradual tactics. We will not permit this step to spoil our relationship with our closest neighbors, he said. The signing of an agreement with Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan is expected to take place in July at the latest.

Russian Deputy Commander Cited on Troops' Status

LD2206090493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Despite the treaty signed last August on the status of border troops fulfilling their service on the territory of Turkmenistan and on cooperation in guarding the state border, this issue still remains unresolved. Our correspondent Mergen Amanov asked Major General Vladislav Aleksandrovich Shunyevich, first deputy commander and chief of staff of the border troops of Turkmenistan, to clarify the situation.

[Begin recording] [Shunyevich] I would like to stress that when the treaty was signed there was no legislation in the Russian Federation on the presence of servicemen and other military formations in the troops of CIS countries. So when we signed the treaty we set a deadline of 1997.

Since January of this year the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and the Congress of People's Deputies have begun adopting decisions on limiting the presence of Russian servicemen on the territory of, among others, Turkmenistan. For example, for top staff officers such as colonels and generals, a deadline of 1 September 1993 was set. For all other servicemen the deadline is 31 December 1994.

In other words, within that period, first, we will be unable to train our replacements, and second and most importantly, we lose the opportunity to leave the border troops at the levels required to carry out the tasks at hand. At present this is the most difficult problem.

[Amanov] Vladislav Aleksandrovich, assessing things objectively, what do you see as the way out of the situation?

[Shunyevich] Our military delegation, which included Major General Kabulov, commander of the border troops of Tajikistan, and representatives of a group of experts, met with representatives of the relevant levels, right up to the Government of the Russian Federation. An understanding was reached on establishing a joint Turkmen-Russian commission to work out a mechanism for the presence of Russian officers in Turkmenistan. This commission has not yet been set up, although we expect it to be in the very near future. We hope that the commission will reach some definite decision in the interests of Turkmenistan, in the interests of Russia, and, most importantly, in the interests of guarding the state border.

[Amanov] Vladislav Aleksandrovich, I know many officers who have served here almost all of their lives and, believe me, I would not like to go through the experience of moving or the other social problems. What is your view about this?

[Shunyevich] I myself have served here for about 25 years without leaving. I can say that officers of my age and slightly younger who have served a few decades on the territory of Turkmenistan and who have a certain status would continue with great pleasure to serve here on the territory of Turkmenistan. [end recording]

Armenia

Spokesman Sees Azerbaijani Events as 'Internal Affair'

LD2206131893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] In view of the events in Azerbaijan, Aram Abrahamyan, press secretary to the Armenian president, has made an official statement. Events in Azerbaijan are the internal affair of that republic and its people, he said. According to the press secretary, the only concern in Armenia is that the situation in Azerbaijan might cause intensification of hostilities, in particular near Armenia's borders.

'Anxious' Over Events

NC2206145093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1146 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Yerevan, June 22 (SNARK)—The Armenian leadership is anxious with the latest events taken place in Azerbaijan and doesn't deny the fact that the political destabilization will bring to the escalation of the military actions even at the state border with Armenia, Aram Abrahamyan, press-secretary of the Armenian president has informed journalists at today's briefing. The blockade will be prolonged as the result of the uncontrolled situation existing in Azerbaijan. The official Yerevan is abstaining from estimation of the facts taken place in Karabakh.

Ararktyan Welcomes Aliyev as Azerbaijan's Parliament Head

LD2206160993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1449 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Jun—Babken Ararktyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, thinks that the election of Geydar Aliyev (a former member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee) as head of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet could play a positive role in relations between the two neighboring republics.

Speaking here today, he said that he has congratulated Geydar Aliyev on his election to the senior post. On the day of our conversation the cease-fire accord was violated and the Azerbaijani side was shelling border regions of Nagorno-Karabakh, Babken Ararktyan said. I asked Geydar Aliyev to devote his attention to this, and by evening the situation had eased.

Speaking about his contacts with Geydar Aliyev when Aliyev was leader of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Babken Ararktyan stressed that personal contacts made it possible on several occasions to ease acute situations which arose on the border between Armenia and Nakhichevan.

Government Ready To Meet CSCE Demands

LD2206135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1337 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 22 TASS—Armenia does not see any internal obstacles for meeting the demands of the world community, in particular the initiatives aimed at settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which were worked out by the CSCE Minsk group, Armenian presidential spokesman Aram Abrahamyan told a briefing in Yerevan on Tuesday. He also noted that the situation in the Transcaucasian republic was "stable and under control".

The spokesman said the leaders of the CSCE Minsk group were expected to make a statement on initiating actions set by the schedule of the Karabakh conflict settlement.

Karabakh Insists on Delaying CSCE Measures

NC2206150293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1146 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Yerevan, June 22 (SNARK)—The press-secretary of the Karabakh Supreme Soviet Gegam Bagdasaryan has informed SNARK's reporter of the fact that "the Karabakh leadership still insists on delaying the realization the schedule of the extraordinary measures suggested by the CSCE Minsk Group for the peaceful regulation of the conflict in the region. According to Bagdasaryan, it can be explained by the non-stable political and military situation existing in Azerbaijan. Karabakh is anxious with the events taking place in Azerbaijan because certain forces in Azerbaijan are on the intention to make the official Baku be impossible to realize the CSCE plan though the Azerbaijani authorities undertook the obligations to contribute to the realization of the plan. The latest large-scale Azerbaijani attacks along the eastern border of the Azerbaijani-Karabakh front show the evidence of their intentions.

Arutyunyan Meets Karabakh Parliament Chairman

NC2206151193 Yerevan SNARK in English 1413 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Yerevan, June 22 (SNARK)—Today the Armenian Vice-President Gagik Arutyunyan has met with Karen Baburyan, acting as the chairman of the Karabakh parliament, who is on his official visit in Yerevan. Gegam Bagdasaryan, press-secretary of the Karabakh, has informed SNARK's reporter of the fact that the questions connected with the economic problems were discussed. It was mentioned that Armenia will help Nagorno-Karabakh to renew the destroyed enterprises and houses, transport communications, will supply Karabakh with energy, to act the agriculture, etc. The sides came to a conclusion that it is necessary to undertake (?joint) control over the humanitarian aid which

Karabakh is receiving. Arutyunyan informed Baburyan of the program the "Hayastan" fund is going to undertake to supply Nagorno-Karabakh with the humanitarian aid. They expressed the anxiety with the difficult political situation existing in Azerbaijan as it can play negative role in the process of peaceful regulation of the Karabakh-Azerbaijani conflict.

Turkish Parliament Leader To Visit in 'Near Future'

LD2206195993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1821 GMT 22 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 22 TASS—Chairman of the Turkish Parliament Husmettin Cindoruk will arrive on an official visit in Armenia in the near future, according to Chairman of Armenia's Supreme Soviet Babken Araktsyan. He said that on Monday he has sent an invitation to his Turkish counterpart who has been elected chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of Black Sea Countries Economic Cooperation.

Addressing a press conference here, the Armenian parliament head noted the useful and efficient character of meetings held in Istanbul within the framework of the first plenary session of the Parliamentary Assembly of Black Sea Countries Economic Cooperation.

Azerbaijan

Parliament Declares Guseynov's Actions 'Illegal'

LD2206124293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The emergency session of Azerbaijan's parliament approved a resolution declaring Guseynov's actions illegal. At the same time members of parliament favor talks with Guseynov in order to avoid a dangerous confrontation in the republic.

Elchibey Restates Decision Not To Resign

LD2206131193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1252 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 22 Jun—Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey said again today that he will not resign. It has emerged here that he made this announcement in a telephone conversation with Brian Fall, the British ambassador to Baku, who assured him of the British Government's support. Abulfaz Elchibey said that he will do everthing possible to protect democracy in Azerbaijan and achieve a political resolution to the situation.

Gasymov Heads to Nakhichevan To Meet Elchibey

NC2306094593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0852 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 23 (ASSA-IRADA)—Today Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov left for Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic to meet with President Abulfaz Elchibey who is staying in Keleki village, Ordubadskiy province, ASSA-IRADA was told by the Foreign Office of Azerbaijan. The day before, as we reported, he visited Gyandzha, met with Colonel S. Guseynov and had a conversation with Azerbaijan parliament Chairman G. Aliyev on his return from Gyandzha.

Intellectuals To Persuade Elchibey To Return to Baku

LD2206133993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia, led by Academy of Sciences president Eldar Salayev, left this afternoon for Nakhichevan to meet with President Abulfaz Elchibey. They decided to make this trip after a conversation today with Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev. The head of parliament asked them to get the president to agree to return to Baku.

[Baku ASSA-IRADA in English at 1127 GMT on 23 June adds the following: "President Abulfaz Elchibey is ready to come back to Baku under the condition that troops of Surat Guseynov will move back at least to their recent location Adzhikabul and Shemakha and also if Milli Mejlis will give the full guarantee of his security, ASSA-IRADA was told by Eldar Salayev, the president of Azerbaijanian sciences academy. He leads the delegation of intelligentsia which has visited president Elchibey in the village Keleki of Ordubadskiy district."]

Guseynov Vows To Enter Baku To Fulfill People's 'Will'

LD2206124093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1212 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Colonel Surat Guseynov, leader of the antigovernment forces in Azerbaijan, said today he has no intention of seeking an alliance with any of the current leading politicians in the republic, including Geydar Aliyev (now head of parliament—TASS). He was speaking in Gyandzha in response to a question from Ekho Moskvy radio station. "My future dealings with the parliamentary speaker will be determined solely by his policies. The first step toward compromise can only be President Elchibey's resignation.

"I will consent to be president if the people elect me. Nobody has the right to resist me. I shall enter Baku and fulfill the will of the people. No soldier, no officer will dare to not obey my orders," Guseynov said.

Gives Elchibey Two Days To Resign

TA2306051793 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 0500 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] It is reported that rebel leader Surat Guseynov has given Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey two days to resign.

The Azerbaijani-Turkish agency reports that Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov met with Surat Guseynov in Gyandzha. It is reported that at the meeting, Guseynov said that Elchibey has two days to resign; otherwise he will enter Baku and do whatever is necessary. The agency reports that Gasymov is expected to go to Nakhichevan to meet with President Elchibey.

At a news conference in Nakhichevan yesterday, Elchibey said that after being briefed by Foreign Minister Gasymov, he will hold a telephone conversation with Surat Guseynov.

At the same news conference, Elchibey also discussed Armenian attacks. He said that in light of the information he received from Baku, he conferred with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. At the end of this conversation, he said, a partial cease-fire was secured on the fronts, and the Armenians agreed to withdraw from certain villages they occupied in Agdam. Elchibey pointed out that a cease-fire was established on some fronts at the local level and that he is making efforts to have the problem resolved throughout the country through negotiations.

Guseynov Troops in Postition on Baku's Outskirts

LD2206133593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1322 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku June 22 TASS—Armed units of Surat Guseynov stayed on their positions of southern Baku outskirts this noon.

Specific Guseynov's groups entered Baku last night facing no resistance, as government troops refuse to interfere in state affairs, the more so use arms against their former colleagues.

Although the official authorities keep silent, a statement of Surat Guseynov, saying he takes on himself all presidential powers under crisis conditions, has provoked diverse reaction. In the opinion of an observer of the Azeri Popular Front's AZADLYG newspaper, this step should be estimated as a military coup. The newspaper calls on all democratic forces and the people to protect the legitimate power.

Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey stays in the Keleki settlement of the Nakhichevan Ordubat region. He told correspondents he will "return to Baku when he thinks it necessary".

A rally of Popular Front supporters is underway near Baku University to call for the protection of the Azeri statehood and legitimately elected president.

Location, Actions of Troops Updated

NC2306104093 Baku TURAN in English 0940 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 23 (TURAN)—Surat Guseynov's advanced detachments are still on their former positions outside of Baku. This morning they took their positions 18 km to the north and 10 km to the south of Baku.

As the commander of one of these units Elchin Aliyev said in his interview with TURAN correspondent, 'We are here because we don't believe president and he must resign. We are not going to open the fire as some people say.'

At the same time, some Surat Guseynovs soldiers are making periodical 'trips' to Baku to visit their relatives and friends.

Together with this, yesterday group of armed people removed the heads of executive power in Khurdalan and Karadag regions of Baku from their office. Probably, they were taken to Gyandzha.

As it was reported, yesterday parliament building was strongly guarded by armed units. Soldiers refused to explain journalists and members of parliament who ordered to guard Supreme Soviet building.

The situation in Baku as a whole is quiet now. All enterprises, transport and trade organizations are working.

Former President Mutalibov Reportedly Returns to Baku

NC2206141593 Baku TURAN in English 1353 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 22 (TURAN)—As reliable sources inform, June 22 at night ex-President Ayaz Mutalibov came back from Moscow to Baku. In corresponding circles in Baku began discussing the idea of accepting A. Mutalibov prime-minister of the country.

According to the same sources, rebellious Colonel Surat Guseynov backs the idea of including A. Mutalibov into the new supposing staff of Azerbaijan guidance. Ex-Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev expressed the same point of view at the last sitting of Milli Mejlis.

As it is known, A. Mutalibov was forced to leave Azerbaijan May 15 1992 after his attempt to restore president's power failed. People's Front considered his actions to be coup attempt. Before his return to Baku, A. Mutalibov lived in one of government villas in Moscow.

Guseynov Said To Support Mutalibov's Return

NC2206142293 Baku TURAN in English 1353 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 22 (TURAN)—Colonel Surat Guseynov and ex- President Ayaz Mutalibov are in Baku from yesterday's evening, TURAN agency was known about it from informed sources.

At present part of Surat Guseynov's units are in Baku and they are taking part in joint patrol on Azneft Square.

Former Abulfaz Elchibey's adviser Nadzhaf Nadzhafov has left for Nakhichevan today to hold consultations with the president. Probably, Nadzhaf Nadzhafov will be the mediator in the talks between Surat Guseynov and Abulfaz Elchibey.

As it was known from close to the government circles, the arrival of Surat Guseynov and Ayaz Mutalibov to Baku were actions planned before and they are aimed at removing PFA [Azerbaijani People's Front] representatives from power in Azerbaijan. After it take place, the creating of Council Soviet, including Geydar Aliyev, Surat Guseynov, Ayaz Mutalibov and probably, Abulfaz Elchibey will announced.

Mutalibov Denies Collusion With Guseynov

LD2306110193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to the TURAN news agency, reinforced army and police units have placed the Azerbaijani parliament under guard. Joint patrols are controlling a number of other strategic facilities in the town.

The agency also says Surat Guseynov arrived in Baku from Gyandzha yesterday evening, but we have received no confirmation from other sources.

According to the Azerbaijani Embassy, opposition leader Etibar Mamedov gathered his supporters today at 1000 to examine the situation in the republic.

Former Azerbaijani leader Ayaz Mutalibov has authorized the EUROASIA news agency to publish a refutation of rumors that there are any contacts between him and Colonel Surat Guseynov. This refutation was provoked by reports that have appeared in the Baku press that Guseynov is implementing a plan developed by Ayaz Mutalibov in Moscow.

Former Defense Minister Accompanies Guseynov Troops

LD2306102493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0730 GMT on 23 June carries a five-minute report by an unidentified correspondent in Baku who visited "units loyal to Colonel Surat Guseynov deployed on the outskirts of Baku," accompanied by former Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev. The correspondent says:

"Rakhim Gaziyev told the fighters to be vigilant and to avert a fratricidal war. Incidentally, units commanded by the Defense Ministry will not be deployed against Surat Guseynov's armed formations without special permission from parliament. Deputies were told by Colonel Safar Abiyev, acting defense minister, that this decision was taken at a sitting of the Military Collegium of the Defense Ministry."

The correspondent next asks the soldiers and officers of their attitude to the unfolding events.

An unidentified soldier says:

"There will be no bloodshed. We received an order: if we are fired on, we shall take cover and not return fire. There will be no repeat of 28 January. People in Baku think that we have come here to shoot or something. We have not. We just want to ask who is to blame for what happened in Gyandzha on 4 June. But there will be no shooting from our side."

Another soldier says:

"We do not intend to shoot each other, and we shall not do it. We have been welcomed everywhere, people hugged us, offered us bread and salt. The whole of Azerbaijan supports us, as you can see for yourself, and there will be no more bloodshed."

Asked whether everyone in the battalion is from Gyandzha, a soldier replies that there are "boys from all over Azerbaijan here."

The correspondent concludes by saying that these replies give hope for "a peaceful solution to the republic's internal crisis."

Says Elchibey Should Resign

LD2306092593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Interview with former Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The most important thing today is to avert a fratricidal conflict in the republic. I asked former Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev, one of the leaders of Azerbaijan's national liberation movement, who enjoys a lot of support in military units, to speak on the subject.

Rakhim-bey, can we say that despite the undoubted seriousness of the present situation leaders such as yourself will not allow a civil war to break out in this country?

[Gaziyev] It is not because people such as myself will stop it, but because of the whole history of our people. We are a very humane, peace-loving, and respectful nation. Our people know how to respect each other. These are the principal factors that give us the necessary foundation for normalizing the present emergency and for steering developments onto the right tracks. We have to work with people day and night, to work with those officers and soldiers who used to be in confrontation, but who have now pledged that they will not shoot. This gives us great hope. This is the positive potential characteristic of our people. God forbid, we will not have any bloodshed that our enemies, both internal and external, are waiting for. I think they will wait long and in vain. This is what I think today.

[Correspondent] What do you think the outcome of the political struggle will be at this stage?

[Gaziyev] There is, of course, a firm opinion that after what happened President Elchibey has to leave the political arena. That is, just as civilized presidents do in civilized countries, he has to resign. Because just under a year ago he swore on the Koran, the Holy Book, pledging to the people to be the guarantor of peace and security for his people. But with the first emergency, he disappeared from the political stage, so to speak. This does not do him any credit.

The first step toward stabilization should be his voluntary resignation. With this, things will start to change for the better, I believe.

Aliyev Briefs Press on 'Tense' Situation

LD2206170793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1450 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Islam Kuliyev from Baku]

[Text] [Kuliyev] A briefing by Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, has just ended in Baku. The aim of our meeting today, the speaker of parliament said, is to provide representatives of the press with the most recent and reliable information.

The situation in Baku, he said, and in the republic in general remains tense. People's Deputy Colonel Surat Guseynov continues to insist on his demands. Yesterday he made a statement in which he again demanded the resignation of President Abulfaz Elchibey. As you know, Geydar Aliyev went on, at a session of the National Assembly yesterday we adopted an appeal to President Abulfaz Elchibey to return to Baku. An appeal was also adopted to Colonel Surat Guseynov. Yesterday and today, Geydar Aliyev said, I was in telephone contact with Abulfaz Elchibey and asked him to return. However, these talks failed to yield positive results. He will not return until the troops of Colonel Guseynov move away from Baku.

The president told me and the other leading persons in the republic to try and stabilize the situation, Aliyev said. Unfortunately, none of the arguments I advanced on the need for the president to come to Baku had any effect. The arguments put by National Independence Party Leader Etibar Mamedov and also by all members of the republican Cabinet of Ministers who spoke with Abulfaz Elchibey on the phone also ended in failure. I had to take another step, Geydar Aliyev said; having invited a number of scholars with whom Abulfaz Elchibey had once worked, we asked them to help in persuading the president to return to Baku. These people have now flown to Nakhichevan for talks.

Also, armed groups have appeared in Baku with the aim of carrying out provocations and then blaming all this on Surat Guseynov. At the same time, Geydar Aliyev went on, we are worried by the fact that Surat Guseynov cannot fully control all the actions of the forces subordinate to him. As a result of this, all the appropriate ministries have been given instructions to find these people. Work is currently under way in this direction. In spite of this, he asked all inhabitants of the republic not to yield to provocations and to maintain calm and order.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev went on to reply to numerous questions from journalists. As yesterday, the majority of them were interested in the actions of parliament in the event of the president of the republic not returning to Baku. Geydar Aliyev replied that he does not like forecasting the future, because the situation changes every minute, and every day more and more new decisions have to be taken. Time itself will tell what needs to be done and when.

Unfortunately, yesterday's report that Lenkoran had been declared the Mugan republic in the south of Azerbaijan was confirmed today. In reply to a question from a correspondent on this, Geydar Aliyev said:

[Begin Aliyev recording] This phenomenon is regrettable to some degree. The mistakes that were made in Azerbaijan by the state bodies in nationalities policy and in matters concerning relations between nationalities and ethnic groups actually led to destabilization in certain regions, including in the Lenkoran zone. All of this, of course, gives rise to very great regret, and of course, great anxiety. Azerbaijan, as an independent state, is whole, single, and indivisible. Azerbaijan must on no account be divided into regions or cantons of some kind. The people who live and whose forefathers have lived for centuries in Azerbaijan—all the people of this land are citizens of Azerbaijan, and of course, we cannot accept an attempt to create some kind of republic or some kind of state formation in the Lenkoran zone, and I think that those who announced this are not taking a very serious approach to this issue. Our deputies, our politicians who are in contact with [word indistinct] have reported to me that there is no need to worry, there is no particular problem here. [end recording]

[Kuliyev] I am ending my account of today's events in Azerbaijan with this. Good-bye.

[Announcer] Wait, Islam, don't say good-bye, I understood from your report, from your account of Aliyev's briefing, that these units that seem to have penetrated on to the territory of Baku during the night have no connection with Guseynov's units. I am asking this because we have had a report from an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

[Kuliyev] No, they are not units, they are individual armed groups, according to the speaker of parliament. They have penetrated into Baku with the aim of carrying out sabotage operations in order to discredit Colonel Surat Guseynov in the eyes of the people.

[Announcer] So it is not Guseynov's decision?

[Kuliyev] No, no, they say this has nothing at all to do with him.

[Announcer] Thank you for that clarification.

Current Situation Viewed; Roads Near Supreme Soviet Closed

LD2306083893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0512 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Announcer] At the present time the situation in Azerbaijan is probably attracting the most concentrated attention among all those who are concerned about these sore points in our country, former country which has fallen to pieces slightly. As one can say in this case, however, glory to Allah, we do have a person, Islam Kuliyev, who is on the line in Baku and can clarify some details of the present situation. We are listening to you, Islam, hello.

[Kuliyev] Good morning. This morning the situation in Baku is quiet. City transportation is operating. As usual people are hurrying about their business. I will even tell you that last night, at least in the district where I live, no exchanges of fire could be heard. One would like to believe that this was promoted by the work carried out by purpose-oriented ministries to clear the capital of the covering forces of terrorist groups, which Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, spoke about at his briefing yesterday. He noted that Colonel Surat Guseynov is in Gyandzha and his military subunits have come to a halt on the approaches to Baku in two directions. Therefore, the leadership of these subunits is complicated and there are perhaps among them undisciplined people, whose unlawful actions may be exploited by the members of terrorist groups that are in Baku itself. The situation may get out of control. Therefore, the relevant ministries were given instructions to expose and render them harmless.

There is still a big question over the return of the republic's President Abulfaz Elchibey to Baku. Yesterday evening at his briefing Geydar Aliyev, the speaker of the Azerbaijan parliament, reported to journalists that he had repeatedly contacted the president by telephone and tried to persuade him to return to Baku so that the tense sociopolitical situation that has taken shape in Azerbaijan as a result of the Gyandzha events and the penetration of Armenian armed forces into the republic in three directions could be diffused by joint efforts. All my arguments, however, like the facts cited by Etibar Mamedov, the chairman of the Party of National Independence, have not been successful, said Geydar Aliyev. The request of the republic's Cabinet of Ministers have been just as unsuccessful. Abulfaz Elchibey is continuing to insist that Guseynov's military subunits should withdraw from Baku. Colonel Surat Guseynov, however, in his turn is demanding the resignation of the president and is adamant in his decision. We have undertaken yet another step, said Geydar Aliyev; we have sent a group of scholars who previously worked with Elchibey to see the president in Nakhichevan. It is their task to convince him of the need to return to Baku and set about carrying out his duties. Today the scholars ought to return with their reply.

Here is some more news about an event which is in my view very important. I would like to tell Mayak listeners about it. Unfortunately, the reports about the proclamation of the Lenkoran-Mugan Republic have been confirmed. To a correspondent's question Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev replied in the following manner:

[Begin Aliyev recording] To a certain extent this is not an accidental phenomenon. Those mistakes that were permitted in Azerbaijan by the component state bodies and in national policy, issues of mutual relations among nationalities and ethnic groups, have caused destabilization in some areas, including in the Lenkoran area. Naturally all this gives rise to great regrets and, of course, to great concern. As an independent state, Azerbaijan is a single, integral, indivisible state. Under no circumstances can one divide Azerbaijan into areas or into cantons, because the people who live there—and their ancestors have been living in Azerbaijan for centuries—all the people on this land are citizens of Azerbaijan. Naturally we cannot accept the attempt to create some kind of republic, some kind of state formation in the Lenkoran zone, and I think that those who announced this are not approaching this matter in a very serious manner. [end recording]

[Kuliyev] The roads have literally just been closed off around the Supreme Soviet. In all probability a session of the Milli Majlis will be held. If this does happen we shall meet during the Mayak daytime Panorama. I shall bid you farewell on that note. Goodbye.

[Announcer] I thank Islam Kuliyev for the news.

Student Rallies Held for Elchibey

NC2306103593 Baku TURAN in English 0940 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 23 (TURAN)—Today at 11 a.m. local time a rally in encouragement of President Elchibey in

front of the central headquarters of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan started. The number of the participants reaches 2,000 people. At the same time the group of Baku Universities students held a picket in front of the president apparatus building.

The presidents supporters demand that the authorities and the force ministries suppress the spreading of the armed rebel over the Republic. Speakers point out that, the forcible overthrow of the publicly elected president will undermine Azerbaijans authority, as the democratic state, at the international scene and will plug the country into the abyss of civil war. Surat Guseynovs actions were qualified at the rally as the main link of the plot, that was planned in the structures of the former Soviet empire, aimed at the recreation of Russias sphere of influence in Transcaucasian region.

Elchibey: Fear of Russian Commando Attack Lead to Depature

NC2206192393 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 20 Jun 93 p 6

[Report on interview with President Abulfaz Elchibey by Ahmet Ali Arslan in Nakhichevan; date not given]

[Excerpt] Our newspaper's Washington correspondent Ahmet Ali Arslan spoke with Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey, who is still in Nakhichevan, and learned about developments and "the plots being hatched in Azerbaijan."

Elchibey told Arslan he left Baku to "prevent a massacre."

President Elchibey said: "Azerbaijan is facing a much-vaunted rebellion in Gyandzha as a natural outcome of the plot organized in Russia and Armenia. I had to behave like this to explain to my people the plots threatening Baku's population."

"I Will Return"

Indicating that he still holds the office of the presidency, Elchibey said: "As a president who believes blood cannot be washed off by blood, I will certainly return to Baku. Had I not left Baku, the Russians' Alfa commando team would have attacked Baku at 0600 [on 18 June, the day of Elchibey's departure]."

Indicating that Surat Guseynov's rebellion is being directed by former Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev, Elchibey added: "The people now understand who prepared this occupation scenario... [ellipsis as published] Without informing anyone and suddenly, I decided to go to the village of my birth in Nakhichevan. Had I not acted thus, the Russian Alfa commando unit, which was preparing to attack, would have attacked Baku. This would have led to a major massacre. I left Baku to prevent this. Had I not left, they probably would have organized an attempt on my life to eliminate me."

"This Is a Coup"

Drawing attention to an article published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA paper three days before the latest developments, Elchibey said: "It was obvious this was a coup attempt. Had I not left Baku, the people would have been caught unaware and would have found themselves amid new intrigue. I am determined to explain to my people, who are unaware of many things, that this is a coup. I will return to Baku as soon as I explain this to the people." [passage omitted]

Elchibey Requests Continued Support From Turkey

TA2206195893 Nicosia Bayrak Radio in Turkish 1930 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey has asked Turkey to continue its support for democracy in Azerbaijan. Appealing to the Turkish press on the telephone during the news conference held by the Azerbaijani consul general in Istanbul today, Elchibey asked the Turkish press to make the voice of Azerbaijan be heard in the world. Elchibey declared that he is continuing his duty as president and will certainly return to Baku.

Turkey Declares Support for 'Democratic Process'

TA2206205593 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] President Suleyman Demirel has declared that Turkey is exerting intensive efforts to ensure that the democratic process in Azerbaijan is not interrupted. Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey received Candan Azer, head of the Caucasus department of the Foreign Ministry, in Nakhichevan today. Azer delivered a message from Demirel to Elchibey concerning the recent developments in Azerbaijan. TRT [Turkish Radio and Television] correspondent in Nakhichevan Suleyman Cil reports:

[Begin Cil recording] In his message, Demirel said: Mr. President, my distinguished brother: I would like to underline that in these difficult days, Turkey and the Turkish nation continue to be the firm supporters of their Azerbaijani brothers in their faithful progress on the road to democracy under the leadership of Your Excellency. As you know, consolidating independence and establishing the framework of the state is a hard and [word indistinct] process. In the face of obstacles to be encountered on this path, it is necessary to counter difficulties without being discouraged and to embrace the nation as a whole. To attain this, there must be cooperation, dialogue, and conciliation among the democratic institutions based on a legal foundation, the national assembly, and the legal political organizations.

Your Excellency, who was elected by popular vote, will appreciate that such an outcome can be achieved by securing a structure that will enable the harmonious functioning of all these institutions.

Turkey has exerted intensive efforts to ensure that the democratic system in Azerbaijan is not interrupted and was greatly satisfied with the attitude and support displayed by the international community to this end.

Meanwhile, Elchibey declared that the current calm in Baku was achieved because a large sector of the community opposed the rebels. In a news conference before meeting with Azer, Elchibey explained that those who started the rebellion are a small group and they took a step backward when the people saw the realities and held back their support.

Elchibey announced that Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov, who met with Surat Guseynov in Gyandzha today, will arrive in Nakhichevan tonight or tomorrow to brief him. Elchibey said that after meeting Gasymov, he will telephone Guseynov and speak to him. Pointing out that he will give a written reply to the National Assembly appeal asking him to return to Baku, Elchibey reiterated that he is refraining from returning to Baku in order to protect the people's security and prevent the bloodshed of his brothers, and not because he is afraid for his life. Therefore, he finds it appropriate to remain in Nakhichevan for a little longer, Elchibey added. [end recording]

Turkish Prime Minister Shows Support for Elchibey

LD2206134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1301 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara, 22 Jun—The violent overthrow of Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey from the post of head of state is unacceptable to Turkey, acting Prime Minister Erdal Inonu said today. In his speech at a meeting of the deputies' group of the Social Democratic People's Party which he leads, E. Inonu stressed that A. Elchibey was elected president by the Azerbaijani people and that any illegal actions in Azerbaijan will not receive the approval of the Turkish Government.

Turkey is making efforts towards the development of the recently independent fraternal Republic of Azerbaijan within the frawework of a democratic law-governed state, noted E. Inonu. No one has the right, however, to interfere in the internal affairs of this country. It is the duty of the parliament, leadership, and people of Azerbaijan to eradicate the crisis that has arisen there. A delegation of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, he reported, has been sent to Baku to follow carefully the development of events in the republic.

Turkish President Suleyman Demirel sent a letter to A. Elchibey which reiterates the statement that Ankara expects that very soon legality and order will be established in Azerbaijan and that the president will continue to perform his duties.

Aliyev Addresses National Assembly 21 Jun

LD2206160393 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 0747 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev at National Assembly session in Baku—live]

[Text] Greetings, good morning to you. It is requested that deputies be registered.

We have a quorum: 36 MPs are present. The assembly can start its work. The session of the assembly today bears to a certain extent a [word indistinct] character. And this is due to the existing situation in the republic. Undoubtedly, these days, all of us are involved in (?complicated) issues we are making efforts every hour and every minute for the solution of these issues.

The situation in the republic remains complicated and tense. The main question which is creating the tension are factors connected with the Gyandzha incidents and their consequences. As you know, as a result of several days of negotiations with Surat Guseynov, the military units under his orders have not moved from the position which they chose in earlier days. And some of them on his instructions were sent to the Karabakh region. However, some reports came yesterday about some units having approached the territory of the city, which caused great anxiety in the city . Further negotiations were carried out. Some of them have stopped in some places around the city.

The situation in Karabakh too remains tense - I mean the situation in Agdam district remains tense. Under these circumstances, yesterday, we at the Supreme Soviet, together with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, the leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers, the leadership of a few ministries, (?Mansur Shakhsar), the leadership of the city, we gathered and discussed the existing situation and once again we were busy trying to find ways out. We tried to contact President Elchibey, the president of Azerbaijan. Later we were told that this communication system was to a certain extent [word indistinct] and was not working too well. And we came to the conclusion that today we should hold a session of the National Assembly and exchange views.

As you know, I had to hold a briefing yesterday, because it was necessary to clarify the situation. Both in the republic and outside the republic many questions, many misunderstandings, many rumors, many opinions are circulating . For this reason in the framework of the information which we have and on the basis of the position which we have,it was necessary to convey these to the press, the media, and the public—both to the public of the republic and the world community.

Answering the questions put to me, I explained the situation and my position as the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. I believe that you have viewed it. It is obvious to all of you. For this reason, I regard it as unnecessary to repeat them here. And on the basis of

these, now in order to have an exchange of views, and to come to a decision, we decided yesterday at that conference to convene the National Assembly session today.

Yesterday, I also explained at the briefing and now want to explain to the members of the National Assembly and other people who have gathered here that there is no change of cadres. Some information bodies report that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is conducting consultations and wants to set up a coalition government. These are all far from reality. There are no such initiatives, such an issue or such ideas. Because without the participation of Abulfaz Elchibey, president of the Azerbaijan, it is not possible to do these. And I regard these as [word indistinct].

However, talks with Abulfaz Elchibey—I talked to him once and stressed that he should come urgently and very quickly so that we would solve problems together. Nevertheless he sometimes gives indistinct answers to these and sometimes says: I will not come yet.

Yesterday, he asked to be contacted. Rovshan Javadov, acting minister of internal affairs; Safar Abiyev, acting minister of national security [as heard]; Namig Abbasov, acting minister of national security talked to Abulfaz Elchibey on the phone and given him the information he wanted. And they, as we understand from what they told us, expressed their opinion on Abulfaz Elchibey's return to Baku to fulfill his duty. Yesterday, for the second time, Shamsaddin Khanbabayev, prime minister of Nakhichevan, went there at my request—to the village of Kalaki. Abulfaz Elchibey met with him until nearly the evening. And I told him to convey my message that he [Elchibey] must return to Baku. However, he did not give a clear response, but the information which he [Khanbabayev] gathered there shows that he does not intend to return yet. He has also told some people who talked to him that as long as Surat Huseynov's military units do not retreat from around Baku, I will not return to Baku.

Yesterday, Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and Deputy Prime Minister Erdal Inonu telephoned me from Turkey. They received a report—this conversation was around midnight—they had received a report that Surat Huseynov's troops had entered Baku; they were anxious. I talked comprehensively with them. They too were anxious about the situation here. And repeatedly they mentioned that they supported a lawful solution to the present grave political process going on in Azerbaijan. Undoubtedly, I had talks with them—both with President Suleyman Demirel and with leading people other than those I have mentioned. I told them. And yesterday at the briefing too I said that I, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, would not allow any action which is against the law, against the Constitution, and against general democratic principles and my position on this subject is decisive. Yesterday, I also told esteemed Erdal Inonu and esteemed Hikmet Cetin that we were in this position.

However, in order to solve these matters in this framework and in this way, Abulfaz Elchibey must certainly be in his work place. Abulfaz Elchibey is the president of Azerbaijan. We do not deny his presidency. We have said this many times and we say it today. Nevertheless, if Abulfaz Elchibey is outside Baku and is not in his work place, and if he is in Kalaki mountain village—in the village of Kalaki, he cannot rule Azerbaijan from there. And for this reason if you want to solve this question by legal ways, you too must insist that Abulfaz Elchibey quickly return to Baku.

Erdai Bey [Erdal Inonu] told me that he wanted to telephone him [Elchibey] yesterday. He talked with people around him and they told him that he [Inonu] was busy today and could he talk the following day? What happened to the talk, I do not know.

For this reason we must consult with you and now we must come to a conclusion today on what to do. Our talk—our talk on Abulfaz Elchibey's return to Baku does not yield any result. And now members of the National Assembly too must express their position and opinions or must give other advice and reach a common opinion.

If it is necessary or if you wish it, my report will be short. And now Rovshan Javadov, our acting minister of internal affairs should report briefly, maybe on the existing situation. Safar Abiyev, acting minister of defense, should give a brief report. Certainly I want these reports to be on the situation in Karabakh, because the process is going on. However, they must be on [the situation] which has come about by the actions of Surat Huseynov and by his troops coming close to this place and thus being very near. What do you say, is this necessary, or not ? If it is necessary perhaps it is necessary in order to complement the situation. It is necessary. You do not disagree?

Then, please, Rovshan Javadov, here you are.

[Unidentified speaker] Is there a secret communication line with the place where the president is?

[Aliyev] There is no secret communication line. When I talked to him the day before yesterday, despite our great effort, the voice was heard very poorly. He could not hear and I could not hear. We had a little [word indistinct] what he says and what I say. The communication set up now is a general communication line. There is no secret communication line.

[Speaker] Thank you.

[Aliyev] Are there no other questions? Then, Rovshan Javadov, please come.

Elchibey Appoints New Prime Minister

TA2206154193 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1500 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Report by Suleyman Cil in Nakhichevan]

[Text] Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey said that the post of prime minister has been vacant for some time and that he has appointed Akhmedov Vakhid Gazi Mamed Ogly prime minister to ensure smoother functioning of affairs.

Elchibey also held a telephone conversation with National Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev. Recent developments in the country were discussed during the conversation. It was also learned that Elchibey held contacts with certain high-level officials in Baku.

Meanwhile, the British ambassador to Baku telephoned Elchibey today and conveyed the support of his government and the EC countries. The British envoy declared that Britain and the EC support the democratically elected administration and favor a democratic solution to the problem. Elchibey, in turn, thanked Britain and the EC countries for their support. He noted that the current political crisis can be overcome through peaceful means and within the provisions of the Constitution.

Elchibey later received the Iranian consul in Nakhichevan. During the meeting, the Iranian consul reported that the Iranian Government and people are disturbed about the recent developments in Azerbaijan and support Elchibey in this matter. The Iranian consul also condemned the Armenians, who took advantage of the situation and launched an offensive in Agdam and Agdere.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijani Communications Minister Firuz Abbasbeyli telephoned Elchibey and briefed the president on the technical work conducted to ensure that Elchibey can telephone all parts of the country from Ordubad.

Aliyev, Shevardnadze Hold Telephone Conversation

OW2106140693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Jun 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] Vakhid Akhmedov, first vice premier of Azerbaijan, received a Georgian delegation headed by Vice Premier Avtandil Margiani in the evening of 17 June. As a KHABAR-SERVICE correspondent learned from government sources, during the talks the sides discussed problems of economic cooperation between the two republics. The question of receiving technical credits and grain from Azerbaijan was discussed in particular.

According to available information Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state of Georgia, and Geydar Aliyev, speaker of the Azerbaijan parliament, have held a telephone conversation during which the sides affirmed their desire to solve all problems in the region by exclusively peaceful means. Shevardnadze also asked Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, to receive the Georgian delegation which is presently visiting Baku.

Envoy Protests Threats to Turkish Citizens by 'Rebels'

TA2306104993 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 0940 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 22 (AA)—With groups of rebels moving around Baku, the situation in the Azeri capital remains unclear. The rebels, whose leader Surat Guseynov seized power earlier on Monday [21 June], are stationed 10 km outside Baku, it was reported on Tuesday.

It is reported that government troops were ordered to prevent the rebels from bringing their arms into the city, though this order appears not to have been carried out.

On Tuesday the Turkish manager of the Nakhichevan Hotel in Baku was threatened by a group of armed men.

The group, apparently from Guseynov's rebel force, entered the hotel, firing in the air and shouting "Elchibey's servants, we will kill you all." There are believed to be 40 Turkish citizens staying in the hotel.

The group demanded that all Turkish citizens leave Baku immediately.

The Turkish ambassador, Altan Karamanoglu, made immediate representations for their protection to the prime minister as well as the Interior and Defense Ministries and the parliament speaker.

Karamanoglu said parliament speaker Geydar Aliyev promised that whatever was necessary would be done to protect them.

Other Baku hotels experienced similar scenes on Monday night, including the Azerbaijan Hotel where AA reporters are staying. On that occasion hotel guards prevented the rebels from entering the hotel.

Meanwhile, the leader of the main opposition National Independence Party, Etibar Mamedov on Tuesday announced his support for Guseynov, criticizing Elchibey's flight to Nakhichevan, adding that it was wrong to seek security by leaving Baku.

He said the real danger lies in being in a village which is only one kilometer from the Armenian border.

Karabakh Aide Denies Republic Gets Outside Assistance

PM1806123593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Karen Topchyan report incorporating interview with Major Norayr Daniyelyan, commander of the Mardakertskiy Defense Region: "War Does Not Arrive Alone"]

[Text] Yerevan—Visiting the Karabakh front line was not easy. There was relative calm that day along the

whole length of the border between the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and Azerbaijan, and in particular, north of Karabakh, in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Firing on both sides only rarely interrupted this calm.

It was in this situation that I spoke to Maj. Norayr Daniyelyan, commander of the Mardakertskiy Defense Region, who until recently led the Karabakh forces' operation to take Kelbadzharskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan.

[Topchyan] Mr. Daniyelyan, what do you, as one of the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabkah Republic Defense Army, think of this war which is now in its sixth year?

[Daniyelyan] It is a disaster. For both peoples. No mother, neither an Armenian mother, nor an Azerbaijani mother, wants her son to die, even if he is protecting his land. The quicker this war ends, the fewer casualties there will be and the fewer children will be orphaned.

[Topchyan] Politicians and also the mass media in Azerbaijan are stating that the recent successes of the Karabakh troops are the result of fairly substantial support on Russia's part, both material support and in terms of manpower....

[Daniyelyan] I reckon they are justifying themselves before their people and the whole world. There is not a single Russian serviceman in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army. As far as Russian-made weapons and military hardware are concerned, I do not deny that we have some of these: They are trophies following battles with the Azerbaijani Army.

[Topchyan] And what would you say about the claim that there is an "Armenian expeditionary corps" in Karabakh?

[Daniyelyan] This does not correspond to reality either. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army does not need assistance.

As someone who led the Mardakert and Kelbadzhar operations I can state with full responsibility: Our army is ready today to carry out any combat mission without help from other countries.

[Topchyan] Nevertheless, how long will the Karabakh war continue?

[Daniyelyan] I do believe that, sooner or later, the confrontation will come to an end. But naturally, politicians must play the main role here. And believe me, we Karabakhis are the side most interested in ending the war.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Views 'Tense' Situation, Leaves for Europe

LD2206174993 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] A Georgian Government delegation led by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, left for Belgium and Germany at 1830 today. Before this visit, we asked Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze for an interview. We are offering you a part of the interview:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] At parliament's 18 June session, we, together with you, experienced a big battle and crossed our fingers for you, to tell you the truth. But a tendency has been noticed that as soon as you leave the city and the republic, everything gets messed up in the internal and external spheres. What are your feelings now that you are leaving for Germany?

[Shevardnadze] To tell you the truth, the head of state should not be leaving the country in such circumstances. The political situation is tense and, what is more, people are experiencing hardships, almost starving in most regions. There is insufficient wheat. At the parliament session today it was pointed out that we may be dealing with sabotage. Somewhere, a railroad has been blocked and thus the situation has become even more complicated.

I want to tell everyone that these actions will not benefit anyone. But the thing is that if the visits that I have scheduled—and especially this one now—are cancelled then we will not have any other source of existence.

I cannot tell you what real results will follow the visit but there are definite hopes that a certain amount of credit will be received, especially from the Federal Republic of Germany. This issue will also be discussed seriously in the EC. You know that we received 70 million Ecu [European currency units] last year and we are still living on it. This is the grain, butter, oil, or sugar that was being sold—in whatever little amount.

I have certain hopes that presumably not the same amount but something can be managed. This is a forced step. We will find ourselves in a more difficult situation if the visit is not effective—and, of course, if the visit does not take place.

I would like to use this opportunity to appeal to everyone, to all citizens of Georgia to understand us. There is no other way out. This is the situation the country is in now. No matter how difficult it is not to lose our temper, we have to think of rescuing the country. If I have an opportunity to work for two or three days without worrying day and night that something is happening somewhere, the result will be better, I believe. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Opposes South Ossetia Autonomy

MK2206103093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 27, 22 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 21 Jun) p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "Shevardnadze Against South Ossetia Autonomy"]

[Text] Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze stated in his radio address yesterday that he is against considering the question of autonomy for South Ossetia. An official reply to this suggestion by Russian Federation Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray will be given soon. Shevardnadze underscored that there is a danger of Georgia's being enslaved by Russia, but Georgia, nevertheless, should try to achieve integration with all states, the Russian Federation included.

'Gudauta Group' Said Planning Attack With Russian Support

LD2206192493 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] A correspondent from the CONTACT news agency has learned from reliable sources that the "Gudauta group," with the support of General Aleksandr Chindarov, deputy commander of the Russian airborne assault forces, is again preparing to attack the towns of Sukhumi and Ochamchira with the aim of once more disrupting the forthcoming talks between Russia and Georgia.

The attack is timed to coincide with the departure of Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state, for Germany. According to the separatists' plan, the attack will be launched from the direction of the village of Shroma. At one and the same time, they are planning to bomb the town of Ochamchira from the direction of the settlements of Beslakhuba, Okhurey, and Bedia. The reason for Russian Armed Forces' involvement in this will be an attack by Gudauta saboteurs on the family of one of the officers of the 901st Battalion of the Russian airborne forces living in Sukhumi.

It is worth noting that the Georgian leadership has drawn attention more than once to the aggressive behavior of General Chindarov, who actively supports the Gudauta regime. The planned attack will result in casualties among the civilian population living near the frontline, as well as servicemen.

Russian Soldiers Reportedly Attacked by Local Policemen

NC2206143393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1235 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Tbilisi, June 22 (SNARK)—SNARK's reporter from Tbilisi has informed of the events taken place yesterday afternoon in Rustavi in 15 km from Tbilisi. The car with the Russian military men was attacked. 8 attackers, three of them in the uniform of the local police, made the military men leave the lorry and captured 24 sub-machine guns, 1775 patrons [as received] and about 30 boxes with food. Military policemen who were in 150 meters from the place of the events took no measures explaining it by the fact that the attackers had sub-machine guns and the policemen had only pistols.

Political 'Crisis,' Impending 'Catastrophe' Viewed

AU2206180193 Tbilisi 7 DGHE in Georgian 18-24 Jun 93 p 1,2

[Giorgiy Sanaia article: "Crisis. Hunger. Chaos. Barricades Again?"]

[Text] The internal political crisis is leading the country to catastrophe. The increased activity of the former authorities has created new problems. The opposition to the current authorities is categorically demanding the resignation of the "luckless reformists." The party supporting the political course of the head of state is responding to the aggravation of the situation by preparing itself for war. The dismissed defense minister is meeting with a rebel colonel in the neighboring state.

The Georgian parliament has taken a one-week break before its recess. On Saturday, 15 June, parliamentary speaker Goguadze travelled to Turkey. The same day, the government raised prices by 100 percent. Correspondingly, wages were increased two-fold but one-third of the population remains on the poverty line. The country has been facing the real threat of hunger. The exchange rate of the coupon is plummeting rapidly. The war in Abkhazia has entered a new phase.... Yet, in the most difficult conditions, legislators, exhausted through inertia, have announced they are taking a break.

According to unofficial information, this step was forced upon them and is directly connected with the action planned for 20 June whose organizer is named as Tengiz Kitovani. It seems that the suspicions are being confirmed that Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Kitovani will not be leaving the limelight without fomenting destabilization on the streets and a serious scandal. Moreover, the ex-minister himself is planning to make an important statement at the next session of parliament.

According to information from Georgian news agencies, up to 200 Russian military inspectors have gone to Anaklia where they will begin training Batoni Kobalia's [leader of the main armed formation supporting ex-president Gamsakhurdia] "Guard." The authorities are, to all intents and purposes, unable to control Zugdidi. The Committee for Civil Disobedience already has a large amount of military equipment, including "Grad"-type rocket launchers. One officer in the supreme state echelon, who has preferred to remain anonymous, told us that weapons could not have been handed over to Kobalia without the knowledge of former Defense Minister Kitovani. Today, Zviad Gamsakhurdia is financing

the "insurgents." The president is calling on his supporters to engage in universal disobedience. The opposition favors destabilization on a large scale.

The most difficult situation in the country is largely due to the nonexistence of a united state policy. Batoni Shevardnadze has been unable to consolidate the majority in the supreme legislative body. A desirable and favorable background has been created for the minority to act. The practical disbandment of the "triple" faction association has led to a worsening of the crisis. Yesterday's leaders, suffering from delusions of grandeur, are trying to drag themselves out of the mud by accumulating political dividends.

Georgian supreme legislative and executive power, despite the existing split between them, are not only pragmatically disunited. The existence of a fairly strong mafia clan is also evident. The functions of parliamentarians are probably not restricted only to standing in line for credits in commercial banks. Each representative of each branch of power is "contributing" to the collapse of the state. The lack of responsibility of people who have a grudge against the Government does not guarantee that they will be able to avoid without any problem the consequences of social cataclysms.

The radical opposition is demanding with full force the resignation of the head of state. Its main argument is that, since Batoni Shevardnadze's arrival, the country has been rocked backwards. War, hunger, the real danger of losing independence—these are the arguments being manipulated by the opposition. However, governments should not be changed as often as bed linen.

On 16 June, the National-Democratic Party [NDP] stated that, in the event of a worsening of the situation, they would resist by force of arms those opposed to Shevardnadze's political course. It ought not to be a bad thing to protect revolutionary gains with a weapon in one's hand but it depends both on the revolution and the gains; at the same time, the NDP has stated most gallantly that the party does not have any armed groups. However, if, tomorrow, the situation were indeed to get worse, their intention would be to protect Shevardnadze with machine guns. The activists of the National Liberation Movement over the last decade are opposing today's national movement. Parties that were once friends could soon find themselves on opposite sides of the barricades.

Increasing Weapons, Drug Trade in Tskhinvali Reported

AU2306090793 Tbilisi REZONANSI in Georgian 15-16 Jun 93 p 2

[Kakha Shengelia report from the Tskhinvali region: "Georgian 'Chekists' in Tskhinvali"]

[Text] **The Ossetians Are Preparing for War While the Georgians Are Exchanging Weapons for Drugs**

The fragile calm in the Tskhinvali region could be broken at any minute. Tskhinvali resembles a powder keg that could explode following the slightest provocation. Georgians are, to all intents and purposes, no longer living in Tskhinvali and the majority of refugees have no desire even to return to this ancient Georgian town. A large number of Georgians now come to Tskhinvali to get drugs. Drugs are sold for dollars and Russian rubles and, in many cases, exchanged for weapons and stolen cars. In spite of the fact that the Gori and Kareli police have stepped up their activities, Georgian drug addicts are nevertheless managing to buy the poison at the price of risking their lives. Weapons are leaving Tbilisi, Gori, Kutaisi, and different parts of Georgia. In this way, the enemies of the unity of the republic are getting stronger. Recently, the Gori and Kareli police detained four groups who were buying drugs and narcotic substances. Some were released because they produced "certain" identification documents, others were made to pay up, and those who had neither documents nor money were put in prison.

During my stay there, the following incident occurred. At the entrance to Tskhinvali the Kareli police came across a band of Georgian drug dealers carrying identification documents similar to those issued by the "Cheka" organization [Soviet security organ 1918-22]. The point is that these people had recently been detained by the same policemen for possession of large quantities of drugs and had been sent to Tbilisi. Then, of course, these people did not have any "Cheka" identification documents.

There is also no unity among Ossetians in Tskhinvali. Once nonlocal Ossetians had "ripped off" the Georgians, they started to do the same with local Ossetians. However, the locals were not prepared to tolerate this and confronted the outsiders with weapons, as a result of which up to 10 Ossetians were killed and several wounded.

Ossetian soldiers belonging to the peace troops in Tskhinvali killed the commander of a subunit attached to the Russian peace batallion, following which the Russians killed three combatants of the Ossetian peace mission and two peaceful inhabitants.

Finally, according to unofficial sources, it has become known that up to 30 fighters from the Georgian batallion in Avnevi hijacked a "Zil" military vehicle loaded with weapons; according to unverified information, they went to Loti Kobalia, Georgian "National Guard commander" [leader of the main armed formation supporting ex-president Gamsakhurdia] in Zugdidi.

Estonia

Finnish Foreign Minister Visits To Discuss Ties

LD2206123793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste this morning met with Heikki Haavisto, foreign minister of the Republic of Finland, who is on a one-day working visit to Estonia. This was reported to ETA by the Foreign Ministry press service.

The Estonian foreign minister summed up the progress of the Esonian-Russian interstate talks and dwelled on issues concerning the Russian troop withdrawal and Estonian-Russian economic links. The foreign ministers acknowledged that the withdrawal of the foreign troops and Estonia's good relations are extremely important for the security of all Baltic states.

Trivimi Velliste noted Estonia's continuing readiness to improve relations and the Estonian Government's flexibility (?in its policy toward Russia). [passage omitted]

In bilateral issues, the aid agreement between Estonia and Finland was first under discussion. According to Haavisto this will help to coordinate the aid program to Estonia better in the future. During the meeting also the work of the Baltic Council was touched upon. In the parties' opinion more emphasis should be laid on economic issues. Also the activity of the CSCE mission in Estonia was discussed and was rated very highly by the Finnish foreign minister. Velliste considered the continuation of it to be essential.

Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD2206183493 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1430 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Finland is prepared to help teach Estonian to the Russian population of Estonia, [Finnish] Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto announced on his visit to Tallinn. The foreign ministers of Estonia and Finland also signed an economic cooperation agreement between Estonia and Finland that creates the framework of economic cooperation between the two countries. Finland has supported Estonia most of all the European countries in the 1990's, Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen reports from Tallinn:

[Maeaettaenen] The foreign ministers of Estonia and Finland met today and discussed relations between Estonia and Russia, and the nationality dispute which has again flared up here after a long break. According to Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste, the background to the nationality dispute is pure propaganda from Moscow, so that attention is diverted from the isue of the withdrawal of Russian troops. Finnish Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto emphasized that Estonia, as a member of the Council of Europe, should adhere to international principles. Haavisto announced that Finland is prepared to take part in teaching Estonian to the Russian population.

The foreign ministers of Estonia and Finland also signed an economic cooperation and aid agreement, which will coordinate the economic cooperation between the two countries more effectively. The agreement was delayed because of customs and taxation matters; Estonia wanted to tax Finnish aid directed to Estonia and enforce excise duties on the aid. Now it is agreed that the aid will be free of excise duty and tax.

At the beginning of the 1990's, Finnish aid to Estonia was greater than the aid of other European countries, calculated in Finnish markka, worth 200 million markka during the first two years. This year the Finnish budget has set aside just over 60 million markka to aid Estonia. Finland is especially financing environmental investments, agriculture, foodstuff production, improvements in communications and transport, the health sector, education, and so forth. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Comments

LD2306111793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Finnish Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto has paid a brief visit to Estonia. Indrek Treufeldt reports:

[Treufeldt] Finnish Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto regards the conclusion of the Finnish-Estonian agreement on economic cooperation and aid as the most important outcome of his visit. [passage omitted]

Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste thanked both the Finnish Government and the Finnish people and emphasized the special relationship between Estonia and Finland.

[Begin Velliste recording] Finland is Estonia's biggest trading partner and is responsible for a third of our trade. For this reason we are highly dependent on Finland in every sense. I have emphasized previously on various occasions that Finland is a great power for Estonia, a great economic power. Without Finland we would simply not be able to cope. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Parliament Adopts Law on Foreigners 21 Jun

LD2106112893 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] At an extraordinary session today the Riigikogu [parliament] adopted the law on foreigners. Fifty-nine MP's were in favor of the law and three were against, with nobody abstaining. The law on foreigners will regulate the entry and exit of foreigners to and from Estonia, their domicile and work in Estonia, and the procedure for repatriation.

Prime Minister Praises Law

LD2106134393 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] The Riigikogu [parliament] today adopted the law on foreigners. According to the prime minister, it is from the European standards' point of view a normal law in every way. Mart Laar is absolutely convinced that any international expert commission would rate the law in a positive light if consulted.

According to Laar, the government is ready for possible negative trends which may result from the adoption of the law. The prime minister is convinced that the threats made will not be carried out. In his opinion, most of the population will understand that there is no point in allowing themselves to be provoked. If one faces the truth, there are currently few people who would like to go back into the ruble zone, despite their ethnic origins or citizenship, Laar told ETA.

According to the prime minister, it seems that certain circles are making their last attempt to incite passions, resorting to crude disinformation which endeavors to exacerbate the situation in the country. Laar hopes Estonian political parties and politicians are aware of their responsibility and will abandon the spreading of disinformation which the Russian-language press has been disseminating extensively.

Opposition: Law Based on 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD2206212493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2005 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn June 22 TASS—Changes of the demographic structure with police methods and cold war ways is ethnic cleansing, adviser of the opposition Centrist Party Peet Kask told the local TV here today.

The law on foreigners adopted by the state assembly is based on these very methods, he thinks. The act proclaimed immigrants all those permanent residents of the republic, who do not have the Estonian citizenship, and made them face the need to appeal for a residence permit.

Kask is also concerned with the fact the ruling right-wing radical coalition consistently pictures the opposition as the main internal enemy of the sovereign Estonian statehood. This practice testifies to the unwillingness to follow elementary democratic traditions and is fraught with very dangerous consequences, he said.

Laar Seeks Expulsion of Retired Russian Servicemen

WS2306091293 Tallinn BNS in English 1351 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 18, BNS—The Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar proposed to adopt "civilized but rather tough measures" to move retired Russian servicemen out from Estonia.

In an interview published by RAHVA HAAL Friday, the head of the Estonian Government said "neither Estonia nor the Baltic states keep the fifth column represented by retired officers on their territories."

On a more general note, Laar said the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia "is going on rather slowly but it is inevitable."

"Even (Boris) Yeltsin's speeches cannot stop it," he said, referring to the Russian president's recent threats to halt the troop withdrawal in support of human rights in the Baltics.

"Yeltsin's statement is caused by inner considerations and by the fact that Russia has started a campaign to prevent Latvia's admittance to the Council of Europe," said Laar.

"As we have the same legislation and policy as Latvia, Russia has armed against all of us," he said. "Such statements irritate the West. Any attempt to bond withdrawal of forces with something else plays to the Russia's detriment."

Meri Refuses To Promulgate Law on Foreign Relations

WS2306065993 Tallinn BNS in English 2039 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 21, BNS—Estonian President Lennart Meri today refused to promulgate the law on foreign relations passed by the parliament on June 2, a presidential spokesman told BNS.

The statement issued by the presidential press office says the law fails to comply with the Estonian constitution which says generally accepted standards of international law are an inseparable part of the Estonian legislation.

The law as accepted ignores this principle, since the Vienna convention on international agreements defines also a head of state as a legal representative of a country in all procedures pertaining to concluding an agreement, without requiring the presentation of special credentials, the statement says. The Estonian law on foreign relations leaves the Estonian head of state without the right to sign international agreements.

Estonia joined the Vienna convention on September 26, 1991.

Lithuania

Slezevicius Requests Observers, Credits During U.S. Visit

LD2206153393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Yesterday Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, who is visiting the United States, asked National Security Adviser Anthony Lake to send U.S. officials to observe the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

Here is VOA correspondent Romas Sakadolskis, who reports on this and other meetings held by the Lithuanian prime minister in the United States:

[Sakadolskis] After the meeting at the White House, Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius explained the circumstances of the request to VOA. He said that he voiced his concern to Anthony Lake about the stance presented last week by the Russian delegation that Lithuania should start making an inventory of the stock left behind by the units of the Russian armed forces who are withdrawing.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] This stance taken by Russia is new. Later it could be used for some advantage, and we think that this should not happen. Therefore, we asked the adviser to help us, in a sense that he was informed, and also we asked whether it was possible to have U.S. observers to come to our country because the withdrawal of the troops is drawing to a close. We think that it is important to establish a system of international monitoring on this issue. [end recording]

[Sakadolskis] According to Prime Minister Slezevicius, Mr. Lake promised to discuss this issue. The leader of the Lithuanian government also requested to allow Lithuanian construction workers to participate in the competition for the construction of apartments for servicemen returning to Russia, which is financed by the United States. The model apartment construction project was announced at the meeting between President Clinton and President Yeltsin in Vancouver, Canada, in April this year. The American Congress is to discuss further financing of this project.

The progress of the economic reform in Lithuania, the difficulties in privatizing large state enterprises, putting the litas into circulation, and technical assistance to Lithuania were also discussed at the meeting with the U.S. National Security adviser.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] Perhaps we could expect help from the United States in the implementation of the program for people and handicapped persons who need social support. This problem is [word indistinct] so that perhaps specific assistance could be expected from the United States on this issue.[end recording]

[Sakadolskis] The day, which was full of conferences, concluded with a half-hour meeting with Anthony Lake. The day started at the U.S. Import-Export Bank. The bank gives credits to foreign countries and provides security to them for purchasing mainly U.S.-made technology and equipment. The bank has already granted credits of $40 million. Adolfas Slezevicius met with bank president Kenneth Brody.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] The Export-Import Bank regards the possibility of financing the import-export oil terminal in Butinge rather favorably. As you know, the project is undergoing a feasibility study prepared by the U.S. company Flohr Daniel. Because they also know the Flohr Daniel company, they do business with them, and they also are aware of the importance of the project to our economy, so that is why they reacted to this so favorably. [Sentence indistinct] [end recording]

[Sakadolskis] On 28 June Lithuanian experts will meet with the representatives from the Flohr Daniel company in London. According to Prime Minister Slezevicius, final decisions are expected to be made already in July on the start of designing the terminal. It has been estimated that the cost of the terminal in Butinge will be $60-70 million.

The leader of the Lithuanian Government also had a meeting with Lewis Preston, President of the World Bank. Here also attention was paid to new credits.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] We discussed some specific details of the credit lines currently prepared by the missions and we also discussed the problem of receiving new credit resources. The topics that were discussed concerned credit resources for the acceleration of the privatization of our enterprises and the improvement of financing. A mission is to arrive in Lithuania in July to prepare a specific project from the credit line for financing of agriculture, food processing industry, and financing of the modernization of power generating installations. [end recording]

[Sakadolskis] According to Adolfas Slezevicius, it has been agreed to solve the problem of, as he put it, certain credits for the purchase of gas from Russia. And this means that Lithuania will be able to pay at least a part of the bill for natural gas.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] I think that Mr. Kebich [Belarusian Prime Minister] will also keep his promise and about $10 million of the sum will be paid by Belarus. [end recording]

[Sakadolskis] By the way all the initiatives which are going through the World Bank could cost Lithuania from $200-250 million.

Adolfas Slezevicius was accompanied at the meetings in Washington by Lithuanian Ambassador Stasys Lozoraitis. The prime minister visited the Lithuanian Embassy yesterday and met with its staff members.

Today he is going to the State Department to meet with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and to the Department of Agriculture where he will meet with Secretary Mike Espy.

Lunch in honor of the guest from Lithuania will be given by Michel Camdessus, Director General of the IMF.

Tomorrow, before his departure to Lithuania, Adolfas Slezevicius will meet with Roger Altamn, Deputy Secretary of Treasury.

Promises To Convey Request Regarding Envoy to U.S.

LD2206182093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, who is on a visit in the United States, has promised to convey to Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas the request of the Lithuanian community in the United States to reconsider the decision to recall Stasys Lozoraitis from his duties as Lithuanian ambassador, VOA correspondent Romas Sakadolskis reports.

[Sakadolskis] Participants in the Lithuanian community's conference in Detroit last Sunday on Lithuania's relations with the emigres asked President Algirdas Brazauskas to reconsider his decision to recall Stasys Lozoraitis from the post of ambassador.

After the conference, during a meeting with representatives of the information media, Adolfas Slezevicius was asked what he intended to tell Algirdas Brazauskas on his return to Lithuania.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] I think that basically we will return to these problems. Of course, the general mood which dominated here at the conference is very important to us. It seems that the services which had been solving these problems were not completely aware of the processes taking place here. I think, and we agreed, that in the future we will return to these issues. Basically, it is a problem of the embassy secretary, who could temporarily begin work, maybe, with the help of Mr. Lozoraitis, if he agrees, so that it would be possible to introduce specific features in the diplomatic work here in the United States, in Washington, which is very important. [passage omitted] [end recording]

In the last few years, Lithuanian Americans have been giving substantial support to the Lithuanian Embassy in Washington and, according to the Embassy, money allocated for it by the Lithuanian Government is deposited in a bank and has not been used. The prime minister confirmed that after the departure of Stasys Lozoraitis from Washington the situation may change.

[Begin Slezevicius recording] Representatives of the Board of the Lithuanian community said that if the ambassador is changed, the question of financing the embassy will be revised. This idea has been suggested. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Romualdas Ozolas proposed that the rights of Stasys Lozoraitis are restored and the work of the Washington Embassy be continued with the help of the community. [passage omitted]

Prime minister Slezevicius did not indicate during the news conference whether he intends to use his influence so that the decision on recalling Stasys Lozoraitis from Washington is changed.

Brazauskas Comments on French Visit, Domestic Issues

LD2206184993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Interview with President Algirdas Brazauskas with foreign and domestic journalists on return from visit to France in Vilnius on 21 June—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Brazauskas] The objective of the French trip was of a political nature. The meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand, which lasted for about two hours, was the event that can be regarded as event number one. [passage omitted] One of the problems that all three Baltic states are currently raising is the approximation of the Baltic states, or their specific steps toward the European Community. I have no doubt that the statement by the leaders of the three Baltic states that we made before the meeting of the EC states, which in fact starts today in Copenhagen will also play a certain role. I asked the French president about it, and he spoke extensively on this problem. [passage omitted]

Of course, he was interested in our relations with neighbors. I told him about relations with Russia, Belarus, Latvia, Estonia, and Poland. These states are our immediate neighbors. He stressed that it was necessary to maintain good relations, and our opinions on this concur absolutely. We will see to it also in the future that our relations are normal and civilized, as it should be among neighboring European states. [passage omitted]

We have already written a letter to President Yeltsin in order to go back to the issue of the Lithuanian Embassy in Paris [which is currently occupied by Russians] once again. The building in France is a 100 percent Lithuanian property, although you probably know that in Rome we have certain difficulties because the [pre-war] Lithuanian Government had managed to pay only 25 percent of the value [of the building]. [passage omitted]

We are a transit state: we should earn a lot, and we can earn a lot from transit services, use as a port. The turnover should be 20 million tonnes per year instead of 5 million. [passage omitted]

The next place of meetings was in Cranz Montana at the forum that was mainly attended by the presidents or prime ministers of East European states. [passage omitted].

[Unidentified correspondent from RADIO FREE EUROPE] Mr. President, while in Paris you told the correspondent of the Russian daily NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA—in order to be precise I will quote it in Russian—[in Russian] We understand that we cannot be on anybody's side, in some camp, or in some defense

structure. [returns to Lithuanian] Do your words mean that Lithuania has declared neutrality though your lips? How would you then explain these words in the context of Lithuania's presence in the North Atlantic Cooperation [word indistinct].

[Brazauskas] This does not mean at all that I advocate neutrality. This has not been said anywhere. This is a somewhat derived conclusion from my words that you had made.

It is clear that the system of collective security in Europe is advocated by the leaders of some states and specifically Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Balladur, and some other states of the European Community. This is precisely what I had in mind. I would not say that, in general, the existence of blocs in present-day Europe is acceptable. This is an integration into a common system of European security. Perhaps the idea that had been voiced was not put down quite precisely.

[Unidentified correspondent] In your address in Cranz Montana, you said that the standard of living during the last five months had not fallen in Lithuania. On what basis did you make this statement?

[Brazauskas] Of course, this was said on the grounds of certain forecasts. I have already found statistical information on my table after my return, because I thought that this question might arise, because I spoke on the grounds of some forecasts. But on 17 or 16 June I had already received .... [changes thoughts] The difference between the growth rate of salaries and prices in our country is not significantly big. It is only about four percent. This was in May. [passage omitted].

[Correspondent Yakovlev] Vladimir Yakovlev, from the newspaper FRONT RESPUBLIKA BELARUS. A question was raised at the third congress of the Belarus People's Front, which took place on May 29- 30 of last year, concerning the Union of the Black Sea and the Baltics. What is your opinion about this union and what is the [word indistinct] significance of this problem against the background of the current uneasy times.

[Brazauskas] I do not think that this union is something tangible, something that has an absolutely clear shape. I think that this is a discussion on the level of ideas. Therefore, as long as this discussion remains at the level of ideas I, as an official, am not prepared to comment on it. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the work of the Lithuanian Embassy in Paris, well, we all would like our embassies to perform better and all have a very specifically aimed direction in their work: to advertise Lithuanian affairs, Lithuanian interests, and proposals. [passage omitted: due to shortage of staff this work is not sufficient]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, when you spoke about going step by step toward the European Community, could you tell us, please, whether the steps that have been taken in domestic policy—for example, trends in agricultural reform adopted last week—and the practical steps that are being taken in foreign policy—for example, a free trade agreement with Belarus, a free trade agreement with Armenia, a free trade agreement with Russia—whether these steps are leading us toward the European space or whether they are taking us toward a somewhat different space, or whether special tactics had been adopted here so that proceeding to the West will be made via East?

[Brazauskas] One should remember one thing. If we stand with our back to the East and our face to the West and if we keep thinking all the time that this is a very good idea, then I can tell you that Western partners have a somewhat different view on this. They think in fact that the Baltic states should normalize their relations with all their neighbors, and this is an indispensable condition. Speaking about the free trade agreements, for example, I have not heard anywhere any negative comments concerning them. [passage omitted]

Concerning agricultural reform, this is the matter of the internal affairs of our state. [passage omitted]

Agricultural reform should be rectified so that it will not be unprofitable, so that it is full of strength, and so that the results will not fall onto the shoulders of our people, and finally so that the food prices stop rising. We have lost the main share of our exports, which used to be agricultural produce. [passage omitted]

We are proceeding along the right road, because the principle of reinstatement of the right on property remains as it has been written down in our constitution. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent from KOMERSANT DAILY] [passage omitted] What is your point of view on the position adopted by the Polish prime minister that the assessment of the actions carried out by General Zeligowski would be absolutely unacceptable in the Polish-Lithuanian (?agreement).

[Brazauskas] [passage omitted] Concerning Zeligowski, well, this is not a simple matter and the assessment of such matters can not be made easily. A week ago our version of the cooperation agreement was handed in to the Polish side. Today, I cannot tell what their reaction will be. This is an issue for negotiations. Ways should be looked for. Let the Polish side voice its views on this, then our side. Then by means of drawing nearer all the states will come to an agreement, and I think that we will reach an agreement with Poland, one of our nearest neighbors.

[Unidentified correspondent] When you talked to the French president about Lithuanian-Russian relations, what did you tell Mr. Mitterrand concerning the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania? What did you tell him about Lithuanian-Russian relations?

[Brazauskas] Well, first of all, I spoke about the situation in the progress of the withdrawal. Quite recently, I read

the information from the Ministry of National Defense. Of course, there are certain difficulties, there are some technical matters, even from our side, which were raised by the leadership of the Russian troops, concerning the supply of railway cars. Only last month, about 1,200 railway cars had to be loaded, which is a great number and a lot of work. However, this work is in progress, which is very good. I said that the withdrawal of the troops is progressing and that, according to the guarantees made by the Russian side, the troops will be withdrawn by 31 August. [passage indistinct]

Concerning our relations with Russia, well, of course this issue was mentioned. I said that we have already prepared .... [changes thought] And our delegations already started working. They are discussing the prepared draft agreements. Some of these have been discussed and could be signed. Other drafts still need to be exacted. Even if there is not much time left until the withdrawal of the troops, we must sign the political agreement on the troop withdrawal, because this agreement has not been signed until this day. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Question from the Bank of Lithuania. Mr. President, how did the West receive the news about the introduction of the litas into circulation? Do you think businessmen will increase their investments in Lithuania after the Lithuanian national currency, the litas, has been put into circulation?

[Brazauskas] I told a number of people that this month we will put our national currency into circulation.

However, I did not notice any nervousness, either among private persons or ... [passage indistinct]

Prime Minister Surveys Economic Program

WS2306094093 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 3 Jun 93 No. 105 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius by newspaper special correspondent Ruta Grineviciute; place and date not given; under the "Opinions" rubric: "And Everything Will Be All Right...."]

[Text] The Central Bank and the government are unanimous. The Government does not intend to tax exports or regulate prices. The prime minister does not want to be the richest premier, and praises RESPUBLIKA for its informativeness.

[Grineviciute] **Mr. Prime Minister, you have repeatedly said that the moves by the Central Bank to "stabilize the talonas" are the joint efforts of the government and the Lithuanian Bank. In this case, the government should suspend any preferential credits. However, recently it extended a 4 billion talonai credit to one cattle farm. How does this government decision match the plans of the Central Bank?**

[Slezevicius] We have assigned this credit to farmers on preferential terms. However, the difference in interest will be covered from the budget. This money was allocated from existing credit reserves but it was not issued. By extending preferential loans to the meat, dairy, and flax industries, we are granting credits to the accumulated reserves. For example, we have a large supply of meat, because excise duties were imposed on meat exports. This duty has been canceled, and some government representatives have gone to St. Petersburg to negotiate the possibility of paying for gas with meat and milk products.

[Grineviciute] **Our editorial board knows that there are at least two action plans for implementing the government program on your desk. One was drafted by the ministries and the other by independent experts. Which plan is more acceptable to you?**

[Slezevicius] Your newspaper is one of the best informed. I am judging by the speed and quality of your reports. We really had several working groups and hired independent specialists. For example, experts from the World Bank consulted us on export and import tariffs. I believe that we will change them considerably at tomorrow's (2 June—R. G.) government meeting. There is nothing worse for businessmen than a constantly changing policy on imports and exports. Lithuania has adopted 58 documents regulating this sphere since the restoration of its independence. All extremes have been tried out and exhausted. After two months of debate we can say that Lithuania should not restrict exports. Export duties will be zero; maybe only statistical.

[Grineviciute] **Will you liberate customs officers from their bribers?**

[Slezevicius] Exactly. I have always said that it is necessary to restrict the subjective functions of a civil servant, because he is unable to make objective decisions.

[Grineviciute] **How are you going to execute this?**

[Slezevicius] The greatest problem is that we have lost a number of competent people during three years of the enemy search. The salaries of government employees are much lower than those at private companies. However, our employees go to these companies to settle their business, and such processes are developing.... On the other hand, there are a lot of industrious and honest people. That is why we should primarily regulate their salaries. We would like for ministries themselves, considering their finances, to increase the number of skilled specialists and dismiss unnecessary people in the process of improving management. The government has already declined the services of 30 people. This is not cleansing for some political affinity. The key criteria for choosing employees are effectiveness in executing commands, the ability to perceive problems, and analytical capabilities.

[Grineviciute] **However, there has been some talk about more essential management reforms, reducing the number of ministries, for example, by uniting the Ministries of**

Economy and Finance and by establishing the Ministry of Infrastructure instead of the Ministries of Transport and Communications, and so on.

[Slezevicius] We think that the structure of the executive power contained in the Constitution is imperfect. I understand that the law was drafted by the people who had never worked in government service. They were hastily trying to achieve some complicated compromises. For example, the government cannot work without vice prime ministers. It is also necessary to coordinate the contradicting interests of different ministries. Long government meetings are a torment because some minister cannot perform this coordinating function. We lose effectiveness and time. That is why we are ready to submit to the Seimas a proposal about setting up a Common Affairs Ministry. We are also thinking about a constitutional amendment on reinstating the office of vice prime ministers.

[Grineviciute] **There is much backstage talk in the Seimas that the government has problems not only due to the imperfect executive structure, but also to the varying views of its members. Could you say that Economy Minister J. Veselka and you hold the same views?**

[Slezevicius] Well, my views do not absolutely coincide with the ideas of all ministers. However, there are no essential differences. We began our work together. Minister Veselka is an advocate of the free market, and we have chosen a course toward complete liberalization. Certainly, this way is difficult for the Lithuanian people, everything becomes more expensive inevitably, and so on. From another perspective, some new processes can already be noticed. The market is normalizing, we have a certain surplus of meat and dairy products, and prices are falling. The government should not interfere in these processes. It might set the lowest guaranteed purchasing prices for farm produce. The state should only regulate prices for heating, electric energy, and mail services.

[Grineviciute] **When will the public be able to see the entire government program of action?**

[Slezevicius] The program has already been drafted. Next week, we will invite key journalists and newspaper editors (I hope they will come) and present our program. The draft contains a lot of innovations. These are the transformation of the tax system (for example, the reduction of taxes on profits meant for investments—10 percent instead of 24), and the liberalization of exports. We are simplifying the procedure of foreign investments. The government is assuming responsibility for coordinating its policy with the Central Bank—not to issue credit resources, and so on. There are also some definitely urgent tasks—to define the trends of agrarian reform and monetary policy, and to stabilize the talonas.

[Grineviciute] **All the measures you have listed are unpopular. How much time do you give yourselves?**

[Slezevicius] We must create favorable conditions for all economic entities. This is a matter of the continuity of government policy. I am an optimist, and I never care how long I will be here. After leaving this post, I will engage in my favorite private work.

[Grineviciute] **Let me ask you a personal question. You must be one of the richest chiefs of this office. Would you have agreed to assume these responsibilities if Lithuania had a requirement, as in the United States, that before coming to government service, all officials must transfer their capital to a "blind trust" in which their money matters are settled by unknown persons, and on completing their service they are not allowed to continue their old business for five years.**

[Slezevicius] I do not deny the significance of the material side of our lives. Thus far, government privileges have been symbolic. The current situation is changing in principle. It is difficult to respond unequivocally. I could not watch silently what was being done to us. That is why I might have come here even under such American conditions.

[Grineviciute] **Does this office have many temptations?**

[Slezevicius] Everything depends on whether you submit to them or not. People have the greatest difficulty in enduring the power and money test. I think that I am in control of this situation. My head is not spinning from authority. As for money, my opinion is that you cannot earn all of it and so what you have must be enough.

Russians 'Seriously Intend' To Adhere to Pullout Schedule

PM2206152193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis report: "Russian Troops Leave Lithuania Without Complications"]

[Text] Colonel Stasis Knezis, the Lithuanian Government's representative on questions of the Russian troop withdrawal from the republic's territory, asserts that "Russian servicemen obviously seriously intend to leave Lithuania by 31 August this year."

In an interview with the newspaper RESPUBLIKA he said that 65 percent of the combat units and military equipment have already been withdrawn. Good contacts are being maintained between the Lithuanian and Russian military in resolving all problems.

Russian General Checks Troop Withdrawal From Klaipeda

LD2206201293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Lieutenant General Valeriy Propadelov, a representative of the chief of staff of the Russian armed forces for the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic state, arrived in Klaipeda today. He will check on the

withdrawal of the 3d Coastal Defense Division of the Baltic Fleet, the Baltic News Service reports.

According to Lieutenant Colonel Tirilis Norkus, commander of the territorial defense of the Klaipeda district, the representative of the Russian chief of staff will stay in Klaipeda for three days, because—not through the fault of Lithuania—problems concerning transport and servicing personnel have arisen.

According to the signed schedule, the Russian division must be withdrawn from Klaipeda by 10 August.

Brazauskas Accuses LIETUVOS AIDAS of Slander

WS2306080793 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 5 Jun 93 No. 107 p 5

[Letter by President Algirdas Brazauskas to Saulius Stoma, LIETUVOS AIDAS' editor in chief; under the "Correspondence" rubric]

[Text] The LIETUVOS AIDAS article entitled "Why Bush Received Prunskiene" (30 April 1993) features excerpts from the book "At the Highest Levels. The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War" by M. R. Beschloss and S. Talbott, which contain a slanderous statement. It says that on 2 May 1991 I allegedly met with Sakalauskas [former prime minister in the Lithuanian SSR] on a fishing trip and demanded the "introduction of presidential rule."

I have reiterated publicly that I have never met with Sakalauskas on a fishing trip or demanded any introduction of "presidential rule." At that time, I was the vice prime minister of the first independent government of the Republic of Lithuania. After the USSR declared an economic blockade on Lithuania, I took care of preserving the country's economic potential. I do not know for what purpose "Boldin, chief of Gorbachev's personal staff" (who later became famous as an active organizer of the GKChP [State Emergency Committee] coup) wrote such a slanderous statement that does not agree with reality. Despite the fact that I have denied this slander, and that LIETUVOS AIDAS has not repeated it for a long time, your editorial board is trying to revive this issue again. Your newspaper is inadmissibly manipulating the translations of foreign authors.

The book by these foreign political scientists does not say anything about Brazauskas' meeting with Sakalauskas or any other imaginary events. However, LIETUVOS AIDAS presents this slander, which might have been created by the newspaper itself or by its ideological inspirers, as the translation of the English text. True, the newspaper attempts to mask the falsified translation with parentheses and its own cross references.

This slanderous action against the president, manipulation of texts by foreign political scientists, and the intentional misleading of Lithuanian readers discredit your editorial board, Mr. Saulius Stoma, and force me to resort to legal measures to protect my honor and dignity.

I request that you publish my text in LIETUVOS AIDAS refuting the untrue facts in your article "Why Bush Received Prunskiene":

"Refutation.

LIETUVOS AIDAS refutes the slanderous information published in its article "Why Bush Received Prunskiene" on 30 April 1993 about the meeting between Sakalauskas and Brazauskas on a fishing trip on 2 May 1991 and the latter's demand to introduce presidential rule, which injures A. Brazauskas' honor and dignity.

The editorial board apologizes to A. Brazauskas."

[Signed] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas

Ambassador to UK Resigns

LD2206203893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The Lithuanian ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Vincas Balickas, has resigned from the post.

Mr. Vincas Balickas, 89, has been Lithuania's oldest diplomat. The ambassador started his career as an adviser in the Lithuanian Embassy in London in 1938. After the occupation of Lithuania by Soviet troops two years later, Mr. Vincas Balickas, as well as other Lithuanian diplomats, refused to recognize the occupation authorities, and continued to represent the independent Republic of Lithuania. After the restoration of Lithuanian independence in 1990, Mr. Vincas Balickas was again appointed Lithuanian ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. On 8 June this year, Mr. Balickas was granted the Order of Duke Gediminas, (?first) class, for services done to the country.

Today, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas recalled Mr. Balickas from the post of ambassador on the latter's initiative. The reasons for the resignation of Mr. Balickas have not been announced.

Foreign Minister, Delegation Departs for Romania

LD2206154093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] A delegation comprising representatives from the Foreign Ministry and from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, headed by Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, left for Romania today. An agreement on Lithuanian-Romanian friendship and cooperation will be initialled in Bucharest and a protocal on cooperation by the foreign ministries will be signed.

Consultations on the preparation of an agreement on economic cooperation and trade, including free trade, will be conducted during the visit.

The delegation's visit to Romania will last for three days.

Landsbergis on Country's Defense, Security

WS2206071593 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 29 May 93 No. 102 p 4

[Article by opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis under the "Opposition Leader's Column" rubric: "Lithuania's Defense"]

[Text] Liberation from the foreign army does not yet mean the country's security. First of all, the Russian Army must leave Lithuania without involving it in some special agreement on military cooperation. The Russian president and defense minister have stated that they will fulfill their commitment to withdraw their troops by 31 August in line with the agreement. The leaders of the Russian Foreign Ministry and the negotiating delegation are still talking about possibly failing to keep this promise. We have grown accustomed to our neighbor's hypocrisy. We observe their actions and issue warnings, and we will not count our chickens before they are hatched, as the saying goes. On the Day of Thanksgiving in September, we will recall the victims, the efforts that were necessary to withdraw this Army, and those that will be needed to prevent its return.

However, the key tenets of Russian foreign policy, prepared by the Russian Security Council and recently signed by President B. Yeltsin, contain claims to a special role in the former USSR "space." We also remember Russia's bigger appetite—to receive the U.N. mandate for "peacekeeping" in the neighboring countries. We cannot forget the doctrine on good-neighborly relations drafted by the Russian Foreign Ministry—good-neighborly relations that may be enforced, even if they require violence—and Russia's well-calculated warning in Stockholm that it can outlaw the CSCE principles with regard to its former colonies and declare itself not bound by any obligations.

The latest threats by Russia are that NATO dare not take care of the countries in Central Europe, because such "repudiation" could anger it. If any such hints of a NATO presence appear, Russia will occupy the three Baltic states within two days. Here is the latest proposal to castrate the West— NATO should become the CSCE instrument. Thus, it would become subject to Russia's veto.

Lithuania must make up its mind. While the dividing line between the Eastern and the Western systems of security and insecurity exists, it may run along either Lithuania's western or eastern border.

We should adopt some decision and come to understand other planes of thought as well. We have already experienced how the country can be set back through the disruption of its banking and financial system. We have seen what the loss of time and initiative means. This implies the inert clinging to Russia's market, which does not pay for our products, but counts them as Lithuania's "debts." These are the corrupt and ruinous barriers to Western investors and banks. This is the double discredit to our state borders and our national currency. This also leaves the impression on the West that Lithuania is leaning toward the East and longing for "competent socialism," while Estonia and Latvia are becoming "westernized."

We may have already understood that weapons alone cannot destroy a country. Some of this awareness is reflected in the national security concept that is being prepared by the Seimas: "Dependence on the Economic Changes on the Former USSR Territory," and "The Increase in the Crime Threat, and the Appearance of Criminal Groups." They could have stated this more clearly and precisely. This is what Dr. Algirdas Kanauka, a U.S. specialist in military issues and security, writes in Chicago's DRAUGAS:

"Aggression against our country can have different forms. **The most probable ones** are the following:

The enemy does not resort to force, but **tries to exert psychological, political, and economic pressure, and endeavors to undermine the inhabitants' determination to defend themselves and create the necessary national defense forces."**

Other forms of aggression that Dr. A. Kanauka indicates might be military violence by small armed groups both from without and within, and a larger-scale attack by enemy forces (Bermont and Zeligowski are worth remembering from Lithuania's history). "Even if our regular Army is destroyed, we should not lose the spirit of combat, and should launch a guerrilla war."

We should note, however, that the first measure is psychological, political, and economic pressure in order to "undermine the inhabitants' determination to defend themselves and create the necessary national defense forces." Let us recall here the debates on our laws and budgets.

It would be naive of us to think that everyone—outside the country and particularly inside it—welcomes Lithuania's independence. Let us look at this issue through the eyes of the enemy and notice his primary goal. Let us assess how much **the determination to resist** has been weakened. Our spirit may not have yet been undermined, and something may have been left over to destroy. On the other hand, the enemy is observing how we resist the first method of aggression, and how much strength we have to oppose other measures as well.

What is the current mood in the Lithuanian Army, and what is society's attitude toward its soldiers? What media (press, television) are molding one or another opinion, and how are they doing this? Is the concept of a soldier's dignity being revived? Are formal discipline

and obedience not raised above feelings of duty and patriotism as goals to be aspired to? Are soldiers friendly with each other? Do they trust their commanders, and would they face danger and death together? Do soldiers feel that they are necessary, taken care of, and trusted? What social poll has studied our soldiers' spirit and society's mobilization? What measures have been applied?

When one hears that our men keep guard without firearms or that they each get three cartridges for training and action; that they are being expelled from public transport in contradiction of the law and according to the decisions by disagreeing officials, and the government is unable to resolve this; one begins to think unconsciously that the first stage in the preparations for aggression is being successfully implemented.

"Our goal," writes A. Kanauka, " is to warn our neighbors that we will never be aggressors or the first to use force. However, we must also state that we will not allow any violation of our state interests. Our neighbors should know that in case of aggression our defense will be comprehensive and it will not end until the previous status of our country (status quo ante) is restored. We will defend ourselves through all possible measures—diplomatic, economic, psychological, and military. If the need arises, we will use the Lithuanian regular Army and volunteers and launch a guerrilla war or passive resistance."

Our neighbors are watching us, and they will know whether we "will defend ourselves through all possible measures" without having threatened anyone. It may just become clear another time that the attack on us was a worthless effort.

Our neighbors will also know very well whether we are disorganized, spiritually confused, whether we lack ammunition, whether we are playing for time, and whether we are politically undecided with regard to Europe.

Comments on Russian National Interests in Baltics

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[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Lithuanian Seimas opposition group Tevynes Santara, returned yesterday from Switzerland where he took part in the Cranz Montana conference, as did President Algirdas Brazauskas. Landsbergis held a news conference at the Seimas at 1000 this morning.

He gave a rather exhaustive report about one of the plenary sessions at the conference on Russia. He commented on Russia's policy toward the Baltic states and disseminated a statement on this issue.

Glazyev, Russian foreign economic relations minister; Yakovlev, former chief adviser to Gorbachev; and Adamishin, Russian first deputy foreign minister, also spoke at the conference. Following their reports, Vytautas Landsbergis asked about the controversy over Yakovlev's thesis against national egoism as well as the first deputy foreign minister's emphatic elucidation that the basis for Russia's current foreign policy is Russia's national interest.

We know, Vytautas Landsbergis said, that for centuries Russia has been declaring that it is in its national interest—that it is even a necessity—to dominate in the Baltic Sea and therefore to rule the countries on the eastern coast. Ivan the Terrible, Vyacheslav Molotov, and Gorbachev said the exact same thing on this aim.

However, such selfish interests run counter to the interests of the Baltic states and other countries, so the formulation of Russian national interests does not mean anything. It has to be specified. If indeed these interests are still the same, we would feel that Russia's interest in Russians in the Baltic states who are allegedly discriminated against is in fact a secondary aim, with the real pretext being the implementation of the other main interest, which is to rule over the Baltic states once again.

We understand Russia's attempts to isolate the Baltic states, Vytautas Landsbergis said, even now as it compliments Lithuania and censures Estonia at the same time. In fact, we have a common destiny, determined by Russia's common interest toward us.

This is what Vytautas Landsbergis said at a news conference today after disseminating a statement on this issue.